This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

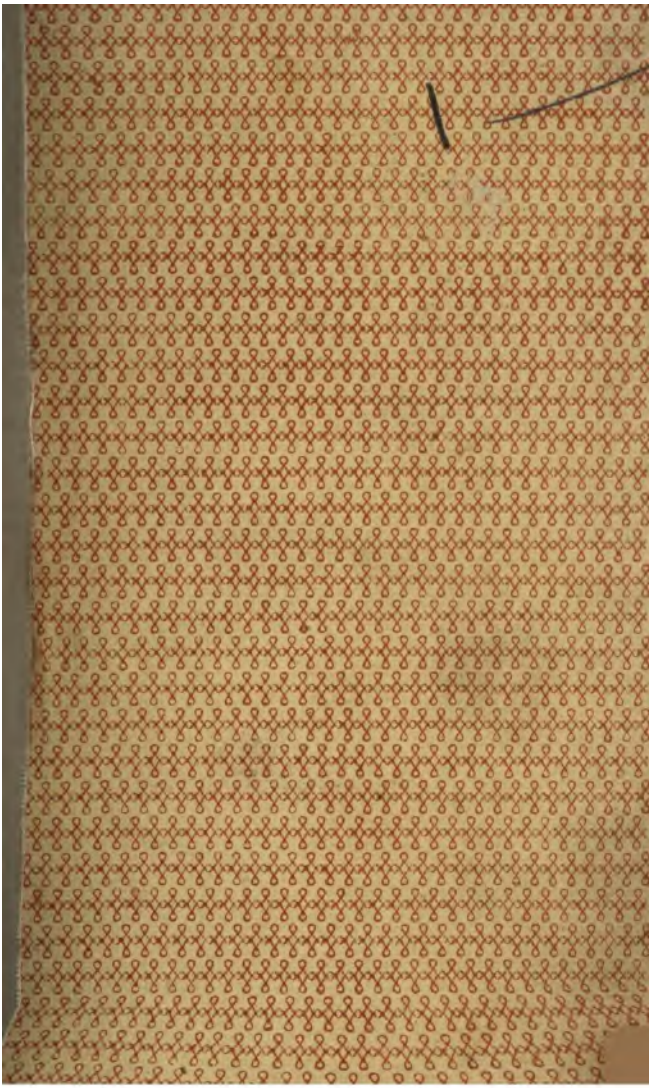
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ACQUIRED THROUGH THE HOOVER
INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY

GIFT OF
Dr. Merrill Moore



[Abbott, Jacob]

CHINA

AND

THE ENGLISH:

OR THE

CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE CHINESE,

AS ILLUSTRATED

IN THE HISTORY OF THEIR INTERCOURSE
WITH FOREIGNERS.

WRITTEN FOR ABBOTT'S FIRESIDE SERIES,

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY LEAVITT, LORD, & CO.
182 Broadway.
BOSTON: CROCKER & BREWSTER.

1835.

Entered, according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1834,

By Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

D. Fanshaw Printer.

915.1
A132

NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

THE work which we give our readers as Volume Third of this series, requires little prefatory notice. It is designed to furnish to the families to which it may be admitted, an entertaining volume for the winter evening fireside, and at the same time to communicate such information, in respect to the extraordinary country to which it relates, as may enable its readers to be more deeply interested in, and to understand better, the accounts of the progress of Christianity there, which are now attracting much of the attention of the Christian public.

The authorities from which the facts stated in the work have been chiefly derived, are Marshman, Morrison, Staunton, Barrow, Auber, Milne, and others. Some views in respect to the nature of the language are taken from an article inserted in the Religious Magazine, though originally prepared for this work.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

MARCO POLO.

THE expedition of the two brothers. They meet an ambassador from the East. Their arrival in China. Their reception and return. Second expedition. The legate. Passage through Armenia. The proposal. Journey through the continent. Arrival and reception. The emperor's opinion of Christianity. The palace of Pekin. Paper money. Story of Achmac. Rebellions. Summary justice. The besieging engine. The travellers' reasons for wishing to return. Difficulties. The Persian prince, and his embassy to China. The reception of the ambassadors. The bride. First attempt to return. Failure. Second attempt. Passage through Persia. Arrival at home.....Page 13

CHAPTER II.

CANTON.

The Portuguese at Canton. First interview with the natives. Efforts to establish a regular trade. Journal of the American traveller. Arrival at Macao. The fast-

boat. Lintin. The Bogue. Custom-house officers. Whampoa. Junks. Pagodas. Hongs. Amusing scene at Canton. Hong merchants. Old China street. The city of Canton. The Fahteen Gardens. A visit to the Monastery..... 59

CHAPTER III.

Difficulties.

First commercial arrangements with the Portuguese and East India Companies. Manner in which the trade was carried on. Licensed pilots. Hong merchant and the interpreters. Hoppoo. Duties. Policy of the Chinese in cases of misunderstanding with foreigners. Examples. Chinese killed by firing a salute. Difficulty arising. Supracargo apprehended. Measures of retaliation. The gunner given up. His execution.

Affair of the ship Neptune. The mob. Negotiations. The trial. Edward Sheen surrendered.

Difficulty in 1808. Landing of British troops at Macao. Remonstrance of the Chinese.

Affair of the Topaze. Fruitless Negotiations. The viceroy's firmness. His edict. Attempts at compromise. Recorded opinions of the supracargoes. Ultimate settlement. Success of the Chinese policy. Its unreasonableness..... 95

CHAPTER IV.

The English Embassy.

Object of the chapter. Design of the English embassy. Lord Macartney. His train. Difficulties about an inter-

preter. The presents. Communication sent to China. Embarkation of the embassy. Design in not landing at Canton. Wish of the Chinese authorities. Chusan. Effect produced by the arrival of the ships. Chinese junks. Chinese navigation. Arrival of the brig at Shusan. Audience with the mandarin. Attempts to obtain a pilot. Pressing.

Entrance into the Yellow Sea. The ambassador's directions to the passengers and crew. Mode of sailing towards the shore. Termination of the voyage. The Jackal. Her return with the Chinese. The mandarins. Their impressions on seeing the ship. Mode of taking them on board. Communication to the mandarins. Description of the presents. The planetarium. The telescope. Globes. Chronometers. Mechanical powers. Pieces of ordnance. Other presents.

The ambassador's instructions to the squadron. The parting. A man-of-war's farewell. Entering the river. The boatmen's song. Reception of the whole party as guests. Chinese salutes. Scenes on the banks of the river. Illuminations at night. Tien-sing. The embassy received by the legate. Pekin. Passage through the city. The yellow wall. Streets; crowds..... 134

CHAPTER V.

The English Embassy—continued.

Arrival at Yuen-min-yuen. Difficulties. Journey to Gehol. The English carriages. The Chinese wall. Arrival. Negotiations about ceremonies. The audience. Visit to the emperor's gardens. Return to Pekin. Meeting the emperor on his return. The farewell visits. Journey through the country..... 193

CHAPTER VI.

Introduction of the Bible.

Dr. Morrison. Preparations. Embarkation. Visit at Philadelphia. Mr. Madison. Arrival at Canton. The beginning. Mr. Morrison's dress. The go-down. Mr. Morrison's appointment. The Chinese language. Nature of its signs. The character. The idiom. Dialogue between a traveller and a Canton merchant. Progress of the translation. Arrival of Milne. Aid from Catholic labors. Conclusion..... 233

CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

MARCO POLO.

About five hundred years ago, when the commerce between Europe and the East was carried on through the great commercial cities of the Mediterranean, two brothers, by the names of Nicolo and Matteo Polo, set off together from Venice, their home, to seek their fortunes as travelling merchants to Asia. They went first to Constantinople, taking with them such merchandise as jewelry, and other articles of great value, compared with their weight and size; for the modes of transportation were difficult and precarious. They passed on from Constantinople to the Black Sea, stopping to trade at its more important ports, and then pursued their journey northward and eastward, until they reached the court of a powerful Tartar prince,

whose domain extended over that part of the world.

This journey took place not long after the time of the celebrated Tartar conqueror, Ghengis Khan, who overran all Asia from the River Volga to the China Sea. His dominions were now, however, divided among his descendants: one, by the name of Kublai Khan, whose seat of government was on the confines of China, being considered as holding the highest power, was called the grand khan, the latter word, in their language, signifying *chief*. The merchants remained for some time in the vicinity of the Caspian, but, unfortunately, or, rather, very fortunately, as appeared in the result, it happened that a war broke out between the subordinate Tartar princes, which rendered their return unsafe. They moved, therefore, slowly on, endeavoring to take a large circuit around the disturbed countries, and thus get back to Constantinople. While on their way, in the attempt to execute this plan, they were met, at the city of Bokhara, by an envoy or ambassador, who was going from one of the western khans to the grand khan, Kublai, in the East. The envoy invited our Italian merchants to accompany him. He seemed to be gratified at meeting them and conversing with them; for they

had by this time learned the Tartar language. He assured them, also, that, if they would accompany him across the continent to the court of the emperor, they would be honorably received, and would be recompensed by valuable presents. The travellers seem to have hesitated about embarking on so distant an expedition; but the way for return to their homes appeared to be cut off, and they at length determined to accede to the ambassador's proposal. They accordingly set out with him, attended by a considerable train of servants and companions, and directed their course into the heart of the continent. They passed rivers and mountains, and almost boundless wastes; and, after a year of fatigue and hardship, they reached the residence of the emperor.

The envoy was not mistaken in regard to the manner in which the monarch would receive his guests. They were the first Italians who had ever made their way into his country; and Italy, from various causes, was at this time one of the most important countries in Europe. The emperor had many interviews with them, making inquiries about their parts of the world, the various Christian princes, their relative consequence, the extent of their dominions, the manner in which justice was administered in

their several kingdoms, how they conducted themselves in warfare; and, above all, he questioned them particularly respecting the pope, the affairs of the church, and the nature of the Christian religion, the doctrines, the duties, and the modes of worship, which it prescribes.

After remaining a considerable time with the Tartar or Chinese emperor,—for his empire included China,—they began to think of their return. The emperor determined to send one of his officers with them, as an ambassador to the pope, to request, as the travellers say, "that his holiness would send him one hundred men of learning, thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, as well as with the seven sciences, and qualified to prove to the learned of his dominions, by just and fair argument, that the faith professed by the Christians is superior to, and founded upon more evidence than, any other." He gave them some other commissions, such as that they should bring him some of the holy oil with which the lamp was kept constantly burning before the sepulchre of the Saviour at Jerusalem, of whose wonderful virtues the Italians had probably informed him. He gave them letters to the pope, written in the Tartarian language, and furnished them also with "a golden tablet, displaying the imperial

cipher, according to the usage established by his majesty, in virtue of which, the person bearing it, together with his whole company, are safely conveyed and escorted from station to station, by the governors of all the places within the imperial dominions."

These arrangements being made, the travellers set out on their return. In a few days, however, the officer who had been commissioned to accompany them, fell sick; and it was found necessary, as they say, to leave him behind. The travellers themselves, with their own company, came on. Their golden tablet secured them a passage, provisions, escorts, every thing that was necessary; and so slow and tedious was their travelling, that for *three years* they turned their route towards the west, before they reached the European waters. At length, however, they arrived at a port upon the Black Sea, whence they went by water to Acre, an important town upon the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, where they found themselves once more in Christendom. They learned here that the pope was dead, which, of course, made it necessary to suspend the execution of their commission from the Chinese emperor until a successor should be appointed; and, in the mean time, they set sail, as soon as possible, for their home. Nearly twenty years had elapsed since

their departure: of course they must nave expected some changes. The principal one of importance to our future narrative, was, that Nicholas, one of the brothers, instead of being welcomed by the wife whom he had left, was received by a son nineteen years of age, whom he had never before seen. The former had died, and the latter been born, a few months after the commencement of the husband's wanderings. The young man's name was Marco Polo, or, as we should say in English, Mark Paul; and it is his name which we have placed at the head of this chapter; for it is chiefly his adventures which it is the object of the chapter to describe.

The two brothers, after remaining a short time at Venice, determined on returning to the East, as they had promised to the grand khan. They were, however, delayed by an unexpected obstacle. They were commissioned, it will be recollected, as an embassy to the pope, from the Eastern emperor; but they found, on their return, as has been already intimated, that the individual whom they had left in the pontifical chair was dead, and the functionaries upon whom the election of a successor devolved, could not agree upon a choice. The travellers were unwilling to return until they could carry back an official

reply to the emperor's communication, and yet they were uneasy at the delay. Two years elapsed before they decided what to do.

Now, it happened, that, on their return from Asia, they had found at Acre, that the Roman legate there, a man of high rank and influence in the Catholic church, took a very active interest in their expedition, and in the commission which had been intrusted to them. They concluded, therefore, since there seemed to be little immediate probability that the chair at Rome would soon be filled, to set sail from Venice for Acre, and to lay more fully before this legate their communications for the pope, and to request him to prepare and forward the replies. They took with them Marco Polo, the son; and from Acre they turned aside from their route, to go to Jerusalem to obtain some of the holy oil which the Chinese emperor had particularly requested. From Jerusalem they returned to Acre, and then, having received communications for the emperor from the legate, and minute instructions themselves, they sailed to the northward along the coast of the Mediterranean, until they came to a port at the north-east corner of that sea, near Tarsus, where they landed, and, leaving the coast, commenced their journey into the interior.

They had scarcely crossed the country of Armenia, before they were overtaken by a messenger from the king, informing them that the very legate at Acre, who had given them their credentials and instructions, had himself been elected pope, and that he had sent after them to wish them to return, in order that he might now, by means of the new authority with which he was clothed, provide in a more formal and effectual manner, for a suitable reply to the communications from the Eastern monarch. They accordingly returned, as rapidly as possible, in a galley provided for them by the king of Armenia, accompanied by an ambassador from him to the new pontiff. How different their circumstances, now, from those under which they commenced their first journey thirty years before! Then, they were solitary and unknown adventurers, working their way, with great fatigue and danger, through the various provinces in their route; now, objects of interest to the highest powers—conveyed at the expense and under the protection of monarchy, and about to be the bearers of despatches from the great potentate of the Western world, to the mightiest monarch of the Eastern.

They were received in the most distinguished manner by the new pope; and new arrangements were made for their journey. Regular letters

papal were prepared for them. Two ecclesiastics were appointed to accompany them,—Father Nicholas and Father William,—who were said to be men of great attainments in literature, science and theology. They received ample powers to found churches, ordain priests, consecrate bishops, and grant absolution for sins. They were intrusted, also, with many valuable presents for the grand khan.

The whole party, including attendants and servants, set out again for the north-eastern port of the Mediterranean, where they landed, and began once more their long journey across the continent. But the course of their affairs was not yet destined to run smooth. The preachers commissioned to accompany them soon found their courage and resolution unequal to the labors and dangers of the almost Herculean task before them. The wars and rumors of wars, and the commotions from which the political sky in those countries and ages was scarcely ever free, terrified them. The immense distance of their almost trackless way, and the sufferings and fatigues which they did not perhaps appreciate, until, by a little trial, they began to feel them, damped their ardor, and they concluded, very wisely, perhaps, to leave to the two brothers and the son, all the danger and all the glory of the enterprise. They

delivered over to the merchants, therefore, the letters and presents which the pope had intrusted to them, and, putting themselves under the protection of a military escort, Father Nicholas and Father William made the best of their way home. Whatever curiosity the reader may feel in regard to the reception which they met with from the disappointed pontiff, must, however, remain ungratified, as the original narrative is silent.

The Polo family went on. They soon crossed the frontiers of Armenia, and pressed on into the heart of the continent. Month after month they continued their journey, through deserts, across rivers, and over mountains. Winter set in, and blocked up their way with ice and snow, or impeded their progress by storms. When Summer returned, they resumed their course again; and thus, after three years and a half, they began to draw near to the residence of the emperor. Hearing of their approach, he sent out messengers, forty days' journey, to meet them: these messengers brought with them every supply for their wants, and ample means of comfort and protection. "By these means, and through the blessing of God," as Marco Polo devoutly expresses it, "they at length arrived in safety at the royal court."

They were "honorably and graciously received,'

as Marco goes on to say, "by the grand khan, in a full assembly of his principal officers. When they drew nigh to his person, they paid their respects by prostrating themselves upon the floor. He immediately commanded them to rise, and to relate to him the circumstances of their travels, with all that had taken place in their negotiation with his holiness the pope. To their narrative, which they gave in the regular order of events, and delivered in perspicuous language, he listened with attentive silence. The letters and presents from the pope were then laid before him, and, upon hearing the former read, he bestowed much commendation on the fidelity, the zeal, and the diligence of his ambassadors; and, receiving with due reverence the oil from the holy sepulchre, gave directions that it should be preserved with religious care."

The third individual of the party, young Marco, now about twenty-two years of age, would, of course, soon attract the attention of his majesty. The emperor seemed to look upon him with peculiar favor; and it is remarkable, that the interview, in this respect, as narrated by the travellers, corresponds almost precisely with a similar occurrence which took place five hundred years after, when an English ambassador and his secretary appeared in the presence of the Chinese

emperor, with a young son of the secretary in their train. In both cases, the youth attracted the special attention of the monarch. Marco Polo was received at once into his service; and as, according to his own statement, he entered with great ardor into the duties of his new station, he soon acquired, in a very great degree, the confidence and affection of his sovereign. His youth gave him a great advantage over his father and uncle. He could more easily learn the languages and adopt the customs which prevailed around him; and his European attainments fitted him to be, in many respects, highly useful.

Seventeen years the travellers continued in this country, in the service of the monarch. They had various adventures, travelling over all parts of the empire, and were intrusted, from time to time, with the management of important affairs. Marco himself was often despatched to remote portions of the country, and was frequently intrusted with civil and military power. He used often, too, to travel on his own private account, and thus had the opportunity of acquiring very extensive information in regard to the manners and customs, the government, institutions and laws of the Eastern world.

It is not our intention to give to our readers any very minute account of our traveller's observa-

tions. It is the general history of this extraordinary expedition, only, that we wish to bring to view. He describes the condition of the country, and the customs of the people in the various provinces and cities, in a manner corresponding very nearly with the facts as since ascertained. These narratives and descriptions are mingled, it is true, with many fabulous accounts, which, however, in most instances, he gives as information obtained from others, not as observed by himself. Some things, however, are stated, which bear pretty strong internal evidence of having originated chiefly in his own brain. He was strongly tempted to exaggerate, for instance, every thing which tended to show the emperor's interest in Christianity; as the honor of having made any impression upon so remote and powerful a government in favor of the Catholic religion, would be very highly valued in those days. Such a story as the following may have originated in this way.

The Emperor's Opinion of Christianity.

The emperor, it seems, after some signal victory over his enemies, came in triumph to Kambalu (Pekin, probably), and there, while rejoicing and festivity were the order of the day, the time of Easter approached. "Being aware," says Marco

Polo, in his narrative, "that this was one of our principal solemnities, he commanded all the Christians to attend him, and to bring with them their book, which contains the four Gospels of the evangelists. After causing it to be repeatedly perfumed with incense, in a ceremonious manner, he devoutly kissed it, and directed that the same should be done by all his nobles who were present. This was his usual practice upon each of the principal Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas; and he observed the same at the festivals of the Saracens, Jews and idolaters. Upon being asked his motive for this conduct, he said, 'There are four great prophets who are reverenced and worshipped by the different classes of mankind. The Christians regard Jesus Christ as their divinity; the Saracens, Mahomet; the Jews, Moses; and the idolaters, *Sogomombar-Kan*, the most eminent among their idols. I do honor and show respect to all the four, and invoke to my aid whichever amongst them is, in truth, supreme in heaven.' But from the manner in which his majesty acted towards them, it is evident that he regarded the faith of the Christians as the truest and the best; nothing, as he observed, being enjoined to its professors that was not replete with virtue and holiness. By no means, however, would he permit them to bear the cross

before them in their processions, because upon it so exalted a personage as Christ had been scourged and ignominiously put to death. It may, perhaps, be asked by some, why, if he showed such a preference to the faith of Christ, he did not conform to it, and become a Christian. His reason for not so doing he assigned to Nicolo and Maffio Polo, when, upon the occasion of his sending them as his ambassadors to the pope, they ventured to address a few words to him on the subject of Christianity. 'Wherefore,' he said, 'should I become a Christian? You yourselves must perceive that the Christians of these countries are ignorant, inefficient persons, who do not possess the faculty of performing any thing miraculous, whereas you see that the idolaters can do whatever they will. When I sit at table, the cups that were in the middle of the hall come to me filled with wine and other beverage, spontaneously, and without being touched by human hand; and I drink from them. They have the power of controlling bad weather, and obliging it to retire to any quarter of the heavens; with many other wonderful gifts of nature. You are witnesses that their idols have the faculty of speech, and predict to them whatever is required. Should I become a convert to the faith of Christ, and profess myself a Christian, the nobles of my

court, and other persons who do not incline to that religion, will ask what sufficient motives have caused me to receive baptism and to embrace Christianity. 'What extraordinary powers,' they will say, 'what miracles, have been displayed by its ministers? Whereas the idolaters declare that what they exhibit is performed through their own sanctity and the influence of their idols.' To this I shall not know what answer to make; and I shall be considered by them as laboring under a grievous error; whilst the idolaters, who, by means of their profound art, can effect such wonders, may without difficulty compass my death. But return you to your pontiff, and request of him, in my name, to send hither persons well skilled in your law, who, being confronted with the idolaters, shall have power to coerce them, and, showing that they themselves are endowed with similar art, but which they refrain from exercising, because it is derived from the agency of evil spirits, shall compel them to desist from practices of such a nature, in their presence. When I am witness of this, I shall place them and their religion under an interdict, and shall allow myself to be baptized. Following my example, all my nobility will then, in like manner, receive baptism; and this will be imitated by my subjects in general; so that the Christians of

these parts will exceed in number those who inhabit your own country.' From this discourse it must be evident that, if the pope had sent out persons duly qualified to preach the gospel, the grand khan would have embraced Christianity, for which, it is certainly known, he had a strong predilection."

Though there are some stories of this kind, in which we are, at least, compelled to make great allowance for exaggeration, there are many other accounts which correspond very strikingly with what travellers have since observed. Among them is the account of the palace at Pekin, which, as the reader will see in a subsequent chapter, is very similar to more modern descriptions. The reader is requested to recall it to mind when reading, in another part of this volume, the account of the English ambassador's approach to this city.

The Palace at Pekin.

"The grand khan usually resides, during three months of the year,—namely, December, January, and February,—in the great city of Kambalu, situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the province of Kataia; and here, on the southern side of the new city, is the site of his vast palace,

the form and dimensions of which are as follows:— In the first place is a square, enclosed with a wall and deep ditch; each side of the square being eight miles in length, and having, at an equal distance from each extremity, an entrance gate, for the concourse of people resorting thither from all quarters. Within this enclosure there is, on the four sides, an open space, one mile in breadth, where the troops are stationed; and this is bounded by a second wall, enclosing a square of six miles, having three gates on the south side, and three on the north, the middle of each being larger than the other two, and always kept shut, excepting on the occasions of the emperor's entrance or departure. Those on each side always remain open for the use of common passengers. In the middle of each division of these walls is a handsome and spacious building; and, consequently, within the enclosure there are eight such buildings, in which are deposited the royal military stores; one building being appropriated to the reception of each class of stores; thus, for instance, the bridles, saddles, stirrups, and other furniture, serving for the equipment of cavalry, occupying one store-house; the bows, strings, quivers, arrows, and other articles belonging to archery, occupying another; the cuirasses, corselets, and other armor formed of leather, a third store-house; and so of the rest.

Within this walled enclosure, there is still another, of great thickness; and its height is full twenty-five feet. The battlements, or cuneated parapets, are all white. This also forms a square, four miles in extent, each side being one mile; and it has six gates, disposed like those of the former enclosure. It contains, in like manner, eight large buildings, similarly arranged, which are appropriated to the wardrobe of the emperor. The spaces between the one wall and the other are ornamented with many handsome trees, and contain meadows in which are kept various kinds of beasts, such as stags, the animals that yield the musk, roe-bucks, fallow-deer, and others of the same class. Every interval between the walls, not occupied by buildings, is stocked in this manner. The pastures have abundant herbage. The roads across them being raised three feet above their level, and paved, no mud collects upon them, nor rain-water settles, but, on the contrary, runs off, and contributes to improve the vegetation. Within these walls, which constitute the boundary of four miles, stands the palace of the grand khan, the most extensive which has ever yet been known. It reaches from the northern to the southern wall, leaving only a vacant space, or court, where persons of rank, and the military guards, pass and repass. It has no upper floor

(i. e. second story), but the roof is very lofty. The paved foundation, or platform on which it stands, is raised ten spans above the level of the ground, and a wall of marble, two paces wide, is built on all sides, to the level of this pavement. Within the line of this the palace is erected; so that the wall, extending beyond the ground plan of the building, and encompassing the whole, serves as a terrace, where those who walk on it are visible from without. Along the exterior edge of the wall is a handsome balustrade, with pillars, which the people are allowed to approach. The sides of the great halls and the apartments are ornamented with dragons in carved work and gilt, figures of warriors, of birds, and of beasts, with representations of battles. The inside of the roof is contrived in such a manner that nothing besides gilding and painting presents itself to the eye. On each of the four sides of the palace there is a grand flight of marble steps, by which you ascend from the level of the ground to the wall of marble which surrounds the building, and which constitutes the approach to the palace itself. The grand hall is extremely long and wide, and admits of dinners being there served to great multitudes of people. The palace contains a number of separate chambers, all highly beautiful, and so admirably disposed, that it seems

impossible to suggest any improvement to the system of their arrangement. The exterior of the roof is adorned with a variety of colors—red, green, azure and violet,—and the sort of covering is so strong as to last for many years. The glazing of the windows is so well wrought, and so delicate, as to have the transparency of crystal. In the rear of the body of the palace, there are large buildings containing several apartments, where is deposited the private property of the monarch, or his treasure in gold and silver bullion, precious stones, and pearls, and also his vessels of gold and silver plate. Here are likewise the apartments of his wives and concubines; and in this retired situation he despatches business with convenience, being free from every kind of interruption.

"On the other side of the grand palace, and opposite to that in which the emperor resides, is another palace, in every respect similar, appropriated to the residence of Chingis, his eldest son, at whose court are observed all the ceremonials belonging to that of his father, as the prince who is to succeed to the government of the empire. Not far from the palace, on the northern side, and about a bow-shot distance from the surrounding wall, is an artificial mound of earth, the height of which is full an hundred paces, and

the circuit, at the base, about a mile. It is clothed with the most beautiful evergreen trees; for whenever his majesty receives information of a handsome tree growing in any place, he causes it to be dug up, with all its roots, and the earth about them; and, however large and heavy it may be, he has it transported, by means of elephants, to this mount, and adds it to the verdant collection. From this perpetual verdure it has acquired the appellation of the Green Mount. On its summit is erected an ornamental pavilion, which is likewise entirely green. The view of this altogether, the mount itself, the trees, and the building, form a delightful, and, at the same time, a wonderful scene. In the northern quarter, also, and equally within the precincts of the city, there is a large and deep excavation, judiciously formed, the earth from which supplied the material for raising the mount. It is furnished with water by a small rivulet, and the stream, passing from thence along an aqueduct at the foot of the Green Mount, proceeds to fill another great and very deep excavation, formed between the private palace of the emperor and that of his son, Chingis; the earth from which, equally served to increase the elevation of the mount. In this latter basin, there is a great store and variety of fish, from which the table of his majesty is supplied with any quantity that

may be wanted. The stream discharges itself at the opposite extremity of the piece of water, and precautions are taken to prevent the escape of the fish, by placing gratings of copper or iron at the places of its entrance and exit. It is stocked, also, with swans and other aquatic birds. From the palace there is a communication by means of a bridge thrown across the water."

The following description of the emperor's plan for raising funds may amuse the reader. Whether it comes within the power of even Eastern despotism to sustain the credit of such a currency in a community, and keep it in circulation, the political economist must judge. The same experiment has since been tried repeatedly by European governments; but they have all failed in sustaining the credit of any currency not based directly on specie.

Paper Money.

"In this city of Kambalu is the mint of the grand khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchymists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process. He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are used for

feeding silk-worms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This, being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his majesty, having dipped into vermilion the royal seal committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal, tinged with the vermilion, remains impressed upon it; by which it receives full athenticity as current money; and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence. When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of his majesty's dominions; nor dares any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it

without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise; such as pearls, jewels, gold, or silver. With it, in short, every article may be procured.

"Several times, in the course of the year, large caravans of merchants arrive with such articles as have just been mentioned, together with gold tissues, which they lay before his majesty. He therefore calls together twelve experienced and skilful persons, selected for this purpose, whom he commands to examine the articles with great care, and fix the value at which they should be purchased. Upon the sum at which they have been thus conscientiously appraised, he allows a reasonable profit, and immediately pays for them with this paper; to which the owners can have no objection, because, as has been observed, it answers the purpose of their own disbursements. Should they be inhabitants of a country where this kind of money is not current, they could invest the amount in other articles of merchandise suited to their own markets. When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money, which, from long use, has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon payment of only three per cent., they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desi-

rous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as of drinking cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they, in like manner, apply at the mint, and, for their paper, obtain the bullion they require. All his majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver. Upon these grounds it may certainly be affirmed, that the grand khan has a more extensive command of treasure than any other sovereign in the universe."

The following description of a tyrannical *mandarin*, as the Portuguese have since called the subordinate officers of the empire, and of the summary modes of procedure in quelling the insurrection which his cruelties occasioned, corresponds very fully with more modern accounts of similar transactions in that country.

Story of Achmac.

"Amongst the officers in the court of the grand khan, was a Saracen named Achmac, a crafty and bold man, whose influence with his sovereign surpassed that of all other members. To such a degree was his master infatuated with him, that he indulged him in every liberty. It

was discovered, indeed, after his death, that he had, by means of spells, so fascinated his majesty as to oblige him to give ear and credit to whatever he represented, and, by these means, was enabled to act in all matters according to his own arbitrary will. He gave away all the governments and public offices, pronounced judgment upon all offenders, and when he was disposed to sacrifice any man to whom he bore ill will, he had only to go to the emperor, and say to him, 'Such a person has committed an offence against your majesty, and is deserving of death;' when the emperor was accustomed to reply, 'Do as you judge best;' upon which he caused him to be immediately executed. So evident were the proofs of the authority he possessed, and of his majesty's implicit faith in his representations, that none had the hardiness to contradict him in any matter; nor was there a person, however high in rank or office, who did not stand in awe of him. If any one was accused by him of a capital crime, however anxious he might be to exculpate himself, he had not the means of refuting the charge, because he could not procure an advocate; none daring to oppose the will of Achmac. By these means, he occasioned many to die unjustly. When he obtained information of any man having a beautiful

daughter, he despatched his emissaries to the father of the girl, with instructions to say to him—'What are your views with regard to this handsome daughter of yours? You cannot do better than give her in marriage to the lord deputy or vicegerent,' that is, to himself, for so they termed him, as implying that he was his majesty's representative. 'We shall prevail upon him to appoint you to such a government, or such an office, for three years.' Thus tempted, he is prevailed upon to part with his child; and, the matter being so far arranged, Achmac repairs to the emperor, and informs his majesty that a certain government is vacant, or that the period for which it is held will expire on such a day, and recommends the father as a person well qualified to perform the duties. To this his majesty gives his consent, and the appointment is immediately carried into effect. By such means as these, either from the ambition of holding high offices, or the apprehension of his power, he obtained the sacrifice of all the most beautiful young women, either under the denomination of wives, or the slaves of his pleasure. His sons and his relatives were appointed to the highest offices of the state; and some of them, availing themselves of the authority of their father, committed many unlawful and atrocious acts.

Achmac had likewise accumulated great wealth; for every person who obtained an appointment found it necessary to make him a considerable present.

"During a period of twenty-two years, he exercised an uncontrolled sway. At length, the natives of his part of the country, no longer able to endure his multiplied acts of injustice or flagrant wickedness committed against their families, held meetings in order to devise means of putting him to death, and raising a rebellion against the government. Amongst the persons principally concerned in this plot, was a Kataian, named Chen-ku, a chief of six thousand men, who, burning with resentment on account of the deep injuries which himself and his family had received, proposed the measure to one of his countrymen, named Van-ku, who was at the head of ten thousand men, and recommended its being carried into execution at the time when the grand khan, having completed his three months' residence in Kambalu, had departed for his palace of Shan-du, and when his son Chin-gis, also, had retired to the place he was accustomed to visit at that season; because the charge of the city was then intrusted to Achmac, who communicated to his master whatever occurred during his absence, and received, in return, the signification of his

pleasure. Van-ku and Chen-ku, having held this consultation together, imparted their designs to some of the leading Kataians, and through them, to their friends in many other cities. It was accordingly determined amongst them, that, on a certain day, upon their perceiving the signal of a fire, they should rise and put to death all those who wore beards, and should extend the signal to other places, in order that the same might be carried into effect throughout the country. The meaning of the distinction, with regard to beards, was this; that whereas the Kataians themselves are naturally beardless, the Tartars,* the Saracens, and the Christians, wear beards. It should be understood that the grand khan, not having obtained the sovereignty of Kataia by any legal right, but only by force of arms, had no confidence in the inhabitants, and therefore bestowed all the provincial governments and magistracies upon Tartars, Saracens, Christians, and other foreigners, who belonged to his household, and in whom he could trust. In consequence of this, his government was universally hated by the

* It will be recollected that China is governed by a race of Tartar sovereigns, from the north, who had at this time hardly come into secure possession of the southern portion of the empire. The distinction and the jealousy between the two races still remain.

natives, who found themselves treated as slaves by these Tartars, and still worse by the Saracens.

"Their plans being thus arranged, Van-ku and Chen-ku contrived to enter the palace at night, where the former, taking his place on one of the royal seats, caused the apartment to be lighted up, and sent a messenger to Achmac, who resided in the old city, requiring his immediate attendance upon Chin-gis, the emperor's son, who, as he pretended, had arrived that night. Achmac was much astonished at the intelligence, but, being greatly in awe of the prince, instantly obeyed. Upon passing the gate of the city, he met a Tartar officer, named Kogatai, the commandant of the guard of twelve thousand men, who asked him whither he was going at that late hour. He replied that he was proceeding to wait upon Chingis, of whose arrival he had just heard. 'How is it possible,' said the officer, 'that he can have arrived in so secret a manner, that I should not have been aware of his approach in time to have ordered a party of guards to attend him?' In the meanwhile, the two Kataians felt assured that, if they should succeed in despatching Achmac, they had nothing further to apprehend. Upon his entering the palace, and seeing so many lights burning, he made his prostrations before Van-ku, supposing him to be the prince; when Chen-ku,

who stood there provided with a sword, severed his head from his body. Kogatai had stopped at the door, but, upon observing what had taken place, exclaimed that there was treason going forward, and instantly let fly an arrow at Van-ku, as he sat upon the throne, which slew him. He then called to his men, who seized Chen-ku, and despatched an order into the city, that every person found out of doors should be put to death. The Kataians, perceiving, however, that the Tartars had made discovery, and being deprived of their leaders, one of whom was killed and the other a prisoner, kept within their houses, and were unable to make the signals to the other towns, as had been concerted. Kogatai immediately sent messengers to the grand khan, with a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, who, in return, directed him to make a diligent investigation of the treason, and to punish, according to the degree of their guilt, those whom he should find to have been concerned. On the following day, Kogatai examined all the Kataians, and upon such as were principals in the conspiracy he inflicted capital punishment. The same was done with respect to the other cities that were known to have participated in the guilt.

"When his majesty returned to Kambalu, he was desirous of knowing the causes of what had

happened, and then learnt that the infamous Achmac and seven of his sons had committed those enormities which have been described. He gave orders for removing the treasure that had been accumulated by the deceased, to an incredible amount, from the place of his residence in the old city, to the new; where it was deposited in his own treasury. He likewise directed that his body should be taken from the tomb, and thrown into the street, to be torn in pieces by the dogs. The sons, who had followed the steps of their father in his iniquities, he caused to be put to death by torture. Reflecting, also, upon the principles of the accursed sect of the Saracens, which indulge them in every crime, and allow them to murder those who differ from them on points of faith, so that even the nefarious Achmac and his sons might have supposed themselves guiltless, he held them in contempt and abomination. Summoning, therefore, these people to his presence, he forbade them to continue many practices enjoined on them by their law, commanding that, in future, their marriages should be regulated by the custom of the Tartars."

At the time these events took place, Marco Polo was on the spot. We have, perhaps, given the reader specimens enough of Marco Polo's style

and manner. These specimens are more favorable in point of interest than would have been selected if the design had simply been to give the reader an idea of the book. Many of the details are tedious, and much of his information is such as he must have obtained from report, and which, of course, cannot be relied upon. We will make one more extract, which, whether fully credited or not by the reader, will, at any rate, be admitted to be a good traveller's story.

The Besieging Engines.

"Sa-yar-fu is a considerable city of the province Manji, having under its jurisdiction twelve wealthy and large towns. It is a place of great commerce and extensive manufactures. The inhabitants burn the bodies of their dead, and are idolaters. They are the subjects of his majesty, and use his paper currency. Raw silk is there produced in great quantity, and the finest silks, intermixed with gold, are woven. Game of all kinds abounds. The place is amply furnished with every thing that belongs to a great city; and, by its uncommon strength, it was enabled to stand a siege of three years, refusing to surrender to the grand khan, even after he had obtained possession of the rest of the province. The difficulties experienced in the reduction of it were

chiefly occasioned by the army's not being able to approach it, excepting on the northern side; the others being surrounded with water, by means of which the place continually received supplies, which it was not in the power of the besiegers to prevent. When the operations were reported to his majesty, he felt extremely hurt that this place alone should obstinately resist, after all the rest of the country had been reduced to obedience. The circumstance having come to the knowledge of the brothers Nicolo and Maffio, who were then resident at the imperial court, they immediately presented themselves to the grand khan, and proposed to him that they should be allowed to construct machines, such as were made use of in the West, capable of throwing stones of three hundred pounds' weight, by which the buildings of the city might be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. Their memorial was attended to by his majesty; and, warmly approving of their scheme, he gave orders that the ablest smiths and carpenters should be placed under their direction: amongst them were some Nestorian* Christians, who proved to

* The Nestorians were a sect of Christians who spread into Asia in very early times, and exerted not a little influence in Tartary and China some centuries before Marco Polo's day. He frequently alludes to them in his narratives.

be the most able mechanics. In a few days, they completed three engines, according to the instructions furnished by the two brothers; and, a trial being made of them in the presence of the grand khan and of his whole court, an opportunity was afforded of seeing them cast stones, each of which weighed three hundred pounds. They were then put on board of vessels, and conveyed to the army. When set up in front of the city, the first stone projected by one of them, fell with such weight and violence upon a building, that a great part of it was crushed, and fell to the ground. So terrified were the inhabitants by this mischief, which to them seemed to be the effect of a thunder-bolt from heaven, that they immediately deliberated upon the expediency of surrendering. Persons authorized to treat were accordingly sent from the place, and their submission was accepted upon the same terms as had been granted to the rest of the province. This prompt result of their ingenuity increased the reputation and credit of these two Venetian brothers, in the opinion of his majesty and of all his courtiers."

In such scenes, and engaged in such employment, our travellers remained for many years; but they did not forget their native city. In the

midst of all the public business which was intrusted to them, they did not neglect the great design with which their travels had originated, viz. the acquisition of a fortune by commercial speculations. Their situation gave them great facilities for doing this; and, during the long period of their residence in China, they seem to have kept it constantly in view, and at length to have acquired an immense property, consisting chiefly of gold and jewels. As they advanced in life, their desire to return home increased. Besides, they began to fear that, by remaining too long, they might find some difficulties in the way of their return. The grand khan was growing very old; and they could not foresee what would be the character of his successor, and especially his disposition towards them. He might decline rendering them that aid without which their return through his dominions might be impracticable, or he might even throw obstacles in their way. They had some fear, too, lest the then reigning monarch might not readily accede to their request. They determined to make the effort, and Nicolo, the father of Marco, agreed to embrace the first favorable opportunity for laying the subject before the emperor. This was accordingly done; but "the emperor," as Marco relates, "instead of showing himself disposed to

comply with the request, appeared hurt at the application, and asked what motive they could have for wishing to expose themselves to all the inconveniences and hazards of a journey in which they might probably lose their lives. If gain was their object, he said he was willing to give them the double of whatever they possessed, and to gratify them with honors to the extent of their desires; but that, from the regard he bore to them, he must positively refuse their petition."

In what way the travellers could have extricated themselves from the dilemma in which they were thus placed, if they had been left to their own resources, it is difficult to say; they were saved the necessity of attempting it, by an occurrence, which, with the transactions that arose out of it, illustrates so strikingly some remarkable traits of Eastern manners, that we cannot avoid narrating it in detail. It is a romantic story; but modern commentators, in their researches into Eastern history, find presumptions favoring rather than opposing its truth.

A prince, reigning over a country in Persia or India, or perhaps partly in both, was allied to the grand khan; and his queen, on her death-bed, charged her husband not to admit any one to her place on the throne with him, but a member of the same family from which they had themselves

sprung, and which was, at this time, near the court of the Chinese emperor. "Desirous of complying with this solemn entreaty, the Persian prince despatched three of his nobles as ambassadors, attended by a numerous retinue, to the grand khan, with a request that he might receive, through him, a maiden from among the relatives of the deceased queen." The transaction strongly reminds us of Abraham's dying request in respect to a wife for his son, and the expedition by which it was fulfilled.

The emperor received the ambassadors very favorably, and promised to do all in his power to promote their object. A young lady was selected, seventeen years of age, and extremely handsome and accomplished. Her name was Kogatin. The ambassadors highly approved the choice; and, when every thing was arranged for their journey, they set out, with a numerous suite of attendants, and with great pomp and ceremony, on their return. Their route was across the country; and, after going in safety for eight months, they found their further progress dangerous, and at length impracticable, on account of the wars which broke out among the Tartar princes. They were consequently obliged to return, whether to the disappointment or to the joy of the young bride, the narrative does not say.

About the time of their arrival, Marco Polo happened to return from a voyage he had made, with a few vessels under his orders, to some parts of the East Indies; and he reported to the grand khan the intelligence he brought respecting the countries which he had visited, and stated also that navigation in those seas, which, the reader will remember, are directly in the route by water to Persia, was perfectly safe. This intelligence reached the ambassadors; and, as it opened to them a new gleam of hope in respect to their return, they sought an interview with Marco, and learned that he, and his father and uncle, were desirous of returning to their home. It was soon agreed to unite their plans; and it was settled between them, that the ambassadors, accompanied by the young queen, should obtain an audience of the emperor, and propose to him that they should return by sea. If he seemed to listen favorably to such a plan, they were then to suggest the expediency of allowing the three Venetians to accompany them, as they were well skilled in navigation, and especially as Marco had just returned from an expedition into those very seas.

The emperor liked the first part of the plan, but was evidently very reluctant to adopt the latter. Still, from political reasons, he felt bound

to do every thing in his power to promote the safe return of the ambassadors, and with much hesitation, he at length gave his consent. He sent for the Venetians, and gave them his permission to go, accompanied with many assurances of his regard, and making them promise that, after having visited their friends in Europe, they would return again to his dominions—a promise which they seemed to be very ready to make, though how far they had any serious intention of keeping it, it is, perhaps, more than doubtful. The emperor gave them the golden tablet, to serve as a passport, and to procure protection and supplies every where throughout his dominions. He also gave them commissions to act as ambassadors to the pope, and other European potentates.

Fourteen ships were equipped; and those not of very small size, if Marco's account of them be true. They had four masts and nine sails each, and the crews of several of them consisted of two or three hundred men. The fleet was provided with stores and provisions for two years. When all things were ready, the ambassadors and the Venetians were dismissed with all due ceremony, and many valuable presents; and the young bride, too, once more bade farewell to her native land.

The fleet worked its way slowly along the coasts of the Indian seas. On account of the

crowded state of the ships, the unhealthiness of the climate, and want of comforts and conveniences, especially incident, in those early days, to a sea-faring life, they lost about six hundred of the sailors on the passage. Two of the three Persian ambassadors also died. At length, however, without any other disasters, the fleet arrived safely at its destined port in Persia.

The feelings of curiosity and interest which Kogatin must have felt on her arrival, in respect to her future husband, were annihilated at a single blow, by the intelligence of his death; and the poor girl found herself thousands of miles from her native land, with all her hopes and prospects blighted and destroyed. The politicians immediately took her case into consideration, and decided that she should be presented to the son of the deceased king, who was then the reigning monarch. He was at this time in the northern part of the empire, superintending some military preparations. Some time was occupied in conveying the young bride thither; and then, after spending several months in resting from the fatigues of their travels, the Venetians began to think of going on. They were provided with every thing necessary for their journey; and new tablets from the government of that country were given them, to secure the safe prosecution of the

remainder of their route. By the assistance of the supplies and escorts which were thus provided for them, they slowly made their way towards the north-west, till they reached Constantinople, where they set sail, and reached Venice, in safety, in 1295. "On this occasion,"—for in these words the writer concludes his narrative,—"they offered up their thanks to God, who had now been pleased to relieve them from such great fatigues, after having preserved them from innumerable perils."

Such is, substantially, the story of the first recorded visit from the Western to the Eastern World, in modern times. How far the account is true, and how far fabulous, each reader will of course judge for himself. That three travellers did appear in Venice about 1295, coming from the East, loaded with wealth, and exciting universal interest in Venice, by these and similar narrations, there is no doubt. The stories were received with much ridicule and incredulity, though the narrators persisted in asserting their truth. At first, they were given only verbally; but, after a few years, in a war between Venice and Genoa, Marco was taken prisoner; and in his jail, at Genoa, with the assistance of a friend, he wrote out his narrative. Copies and translations

were made, and circulated in manuscript (for the art of printing had not then been discovered); and from these manuscripts, found in various libraries in the Mediterranean cities, our printed editions of his work have since been taken. The story was almost universally disbelieved, until, in later times, the visits of travellers who have penetrated to China by the new maritime route round the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Indian Ocean, have verified the substantial parts of the narration.

Still there are some circumstances a little suspicious. The cultivation of tea, and the fashion of compressing the female foot, must have prevailed from remote antiquity; and one would have supposed that they would have arrested the attention of the traveller. He, however, makes no mention of them.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, too, that he says nothing of the Chinese wall, which, there is abundant evidence to believe, existed long before the time of his journey. Various comments have been made upon this omission. Some consider it evidence that his narrative is fictitious; others suppose that he entered China south of the wall, and did not cross it, or that, if he did cross it, he might not be aware of its immense extent,

and, therefore, might not have considered it as worthy of more notice than any other extensive fortification; others suppose that the part of his manuscript containing a description of it, may have been lost, or omitted as incredible, in the early copies. It may also be said, both in respect to this point and to those mentioned above, that the manner in which the work was written, would expose the writer very much to the danger of omitting important particulars. The account was not reduced to writing until some years after the return of the travellers, and then chiefly in the form of detached descriptions of particular places and scenes, as they occurred to the writer's mind, rather than in the form of a connected personal narrative. A brief account only of the journey itself precedes these descriptions, by way of introduction.

On the whole, it may, perhaps, be considered as morally certain that three Venetian travellers did actually traverse the Asiatic continent in the thirteenth century, and find a home for many years in China; and, on the other hand, considering the mental habits of that age, and the circumstances of their expedition, it would have been a case almost miraculous, if they had not exaggerated their exploits, and the wonders which they had seen,

on their return. At any rate, their cotemporaries thought them exaggerated; for, on account of the very liberal use he made of high numbers, in describing the wealth, and the resources, and the extent of the countries he had visited, our hero, on his return, used to go very often by the name of Mr. Mark Million.

CHAPTER II.

CANTON.

It is not our intention, in this volume, to pursue, in regular chronological order, the history of the Chinese empire, or even of European intercourse with it. We are compelled, in order to do justice to such topics as seem to us more important and interesting to the reader, to pass over, somewhat briefly, many details which it might otherwise be desirable to give.

After the journey of Marco Polo, who, as was narrated in the last Chapter, made his way to China, by land, across the continent of Asia, European navigators found a more easy access, by water, around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese were the pioneers in this business; and we must dwell for a moment upon the circumstances of their first connection with China, for the sake of throwing the odium of the system of non-intercourse, now pursued by the government, where it properly belongs. The reader will recollect in what a friendly spirit the emperor

received the Venetian travellers, and how desirous he was to secure their return. The Europeans who came a few hundred years afterwards by water, were welcomed in the same manner. Alphonso Alberquerque, who was, about 1518, the distinguished Portuguese viceroy in the East Indies (for, in those days, the Portuguese were foremost in enterprises of maritime discovery and conquest), obtained some definite information about China, which he sent home to Lisbon. The government determined to send an ambassador there, for the purpose of opening a negotiation with the Chinese, and making arrangements for a regular commercial intercourse between the two nations. A squadron accordingly sailed, in 1518, from Lisbon, with an ambassador on board.

The commander of this squadron was a man exactly suited to be intrusted with the business. When he arrived at Canton, in the southern part of China,—the nearest port,—the native boats and vessels crowded around his ships, to gratify their curiosity with the strange sight. He received them in a friendly manner, betrayed no fear of them, allowed them free access to the decks of his vessels; and any apprehensions which they might have felt were allayed by perceiving that their visitors were off their guard themselves.

The ambassador was received, on his landing at Canton, in the most friendly manner, and conducted by the authorities there through the country to Pekin, where the emperor resided. He found the emperor disposed to favor his plans in respect to a commercial intercourse with the Portuguese nation. The commander of the squadron, in the mean time, cruised along the coast, visiting the ports, and trading with the natives, making every where a favorable impression. The affairs of the embassy were going on thus prosperously, and an arrangement was on the point of being concluded, when another Portuguese squadron, which had been sailing around those seas, began at once those same rude and oppressive practices, so often, in those days, resorted to by the unprincipled adventurers who were exploring foreign shores. Its commander landed without permission, and built a fort. He pillaged ships, or extorted money from them, as they passed to and from the ports of China. He seized the natives, and treated them, in many cases, with cruelty and oppression; and his sailors and soldiers followed his example. This conduct, of course, soon produced a rupture. The Chinese armed themselves in self-defence: they imprisoned the ambassador, and the ships, with great difficulty, escaped. The affair put an end to all hopes of

commercial arrangements between China and Portugal for some years.*

After this, the efforts which were made, by the various nations of Europe, to obtain permission to establish a regular trade with China, met with very little success. There was, however, a trade commenced, and carried on for about fifty years, when an event occurred, which gave Europeans their first, and, thus far, their only, permanent possession in the Chinese empire. By referring to any map of China, the reader will perceive that Canton is situated towards the southern part of the country, near the mouth of a river, which, below the city, widens into a broad bay. This bay is filled with islands; and the shores around it are indented with deep creeks, and these waters were, at this time, infested with pirates, in great numbers, who increased so much in numbers and strength, as to bid defiance to all the efforts of the government to subdue them. Near the southern part of this bay is an island called Macao, which, at this time, was in the possession of a noted leader of these pirates. He was a terror to all the surrounding coasts, and even laid siege to Canton itself. The Portuguese came to the assistance of the government: the

* Auber, p. 81.

pirate was driven away to his fastness in Macao, where he was so closely pressed by his allied foes, that he killed himself; and the Chinese, in gratitude, granted the island to the Portuguese, as a perpetual possession; and they have held it to this day.

It is almost exclusively through this island, and the bay connected with it, leading to the city of Canton, that European nations have been permitted to hold commercial intercourse with China for the two or three last centuries. So that China, so far as it has been accessible to Europeans or Americans, means Canton and its vicinity. A few Catholic missionaries, and an occasional ambassador from some foreign power, have been tolerated at Pekin; and some of the latter have made journeys through the country from Canton to Pekin: these cases have, however, been comparatively few.

From these circumstances, therefore, it happens that Canton and its vicinity deserves a far more particular attention than its geographical importance, estimated by the figure it makes upon the map, would seem to justify. It is there that the European ships collect from every nation, to receive their cargoes. It is there that the products of the country are brought—teas, and silks, and nankeens—to be sold to the English and

American supercargoes, by about twelve Chinese merchants, appointed to be the channels of the trade. Canton has been the scene of the various petty collisions which have been continually occurring between the local authorities and the foreign residents. Canton has been the point to which the attention of Protestant missionaries has been turned. Here, or in its vicinity, Morrison has lived; the Bible has been translated, and printed, and distributed; in a word, Canton, in respect to connection with foreign nations, is China.

In attempting to make our readers acquainted with this spot, we shall first introduce them to it under the guidance of an American, who visited it very recently in the course of business. We take his account, furnished us for this purpose, thinking that the actual description of an eye-witness will be more agreeable to the reader than any general description collated from several accounts. For the more distinct illustration of it, we have inserted, at the commencement of the Chapter, a map of the harbor, which will also be of service to the reader, to be referred to hereafter, in reading other accounts relating to European visits to China.

"The latter part of our passage up the China Sea was rather rough, which was no more than we expected at this season. On Thursday even-

ing of the 2d of September, we lay to off the land in a gale of wind from the southward; the next morning, made sail again, and, at eight o'clock, came in sight of the land, and, at two o'clock in the afternoon, after a passage from Boston of one hundred and two days, having sailed, by our log, the distance of fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty miles, we came to anchor in Cap Sing Moon, a roadstead on the northern coast of the Island of Santoa, the usual place of rendezvous for ships, at this season of the year. We found here several American, and a still larger number of English ships. Immediately upon anchoring, we were boarded by Chinese *fast-boats*, belonging to men who wait upon ships lying here, supplying them with provisions, &c. They seemed very much pleased to see the captain of our ship, whom they had seen before, and were as full of news and palaver as they could possibly be.

"Ships lying at Sintin and Cap Sing Moon, although within the waters of China, are not recognized by the government, and, of course, are subject to no charges or interruptions from them.

"These anchorages are the stations of the opium store ships, which lie there throughout the year, for the purpose of delivering opium to the Chinese smugglers. The ostensible laws of the

emperor of China prohibit, under the most severe penalties, the importation of opium into the country, in any shape. Still, however, the trade is carried on, to an immense extent; and the '*smug-boats*,' as they are called, which are pulled by forty or fifty oars, and as many desperate fellows, armed to the teeth, and in boats which they will pull at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles an hour, go up and down the river in open day, in defiance of the mandarin and man-of-war boats, which are constantly out in search for them.

"We learned here, that the season had been uncommonly boisterous, and that *tifoongs*, a sort of hurricane (so called from the Chinese words *ti*, heavy, and *foong*, wind), had been frequent. One occurred on the third of August last, which made terrible and afflictive devastation of lives and property. An immense number of Chinese fishermen, who were out in their boats at the time the storm commenced, were destroyed, being either driven upon the rocks and islands, or foundered in the fury of the gale.

"The *tifoongs* in the China Sea are peculiarly dreaded by all mariners; and they are among the greatest of the calamities that befall the Chinese. They come on very suddenly, with little warning, and blow with the utmost fury and

violence, the wind shifting from point to point, as in a hurricane, and tossing the sea into such irregular waves and violent commotion, as to render it peculiarly dangerous for the largest and strongest ships. Instances have occurred of East India Company ships, which are as strong, perhaps, as any in the world, foundering, with their whole crews. These hurricanes occur in the months of August, September, and October.

"On Saturday, at five in the afternoon, our captain started, in a fast-boat, for Canton, distant seventy miles. I, in another, left at the same time for Macao, distant about twenty-two miles. We had a fair wind, and were only three hours in reaching Macao. My boat was manned with five Chinese. These fast-boats, from their peculiar model, are admirably adapted for sailing. They are generally about thirty feet long, slightly constructed of some light and buoyant wood, the after part of the hull being full, and of oval shape, 'running away' forward, very sharp, and narrow. They are covered with a deck, rendered water tight, and have three masts, which may be shipped and unshipped at pleasure, and mat sails. Though of so frail a fabric, they are capital sea-boats, and so light and buoyant as to weather with safety a heavy sea and wind. I was much struck with the apparent cheerfulness and con-

tentment of the boatmen, and the good will and harmony which seemed to prevail among them. They smoked from the same pipe, alternately, and chewed their beetel-nut out of the same dish, from the captain to the boy. Soon after we left the ship, they began to prepare their dinner, which was of boiled rice, and meat cut up in bits, and simmered over the fire, with a goodly preparation of pepper and other stimulants. The flavor recommended it: but, though I was invited to partake of their repast, I declined.

"Each boat has its deity or idol, which is left in the hold, in the safest part of the boat. It is generally a small image of the goddess of the sea, made of wax, and is considered the guardian of their boat. It is kept in a sitting posture, fantastically dressed in silks of the gaudiest colors, and placed in a shrine lined with tinsel. Two lights are kept burning before her; and twice a day they present her with cups of tea, sweetmeats, fruit, &c.; but, as she never deigns to accept of them, the boatmen themselves, after waiting a due time, are obliged to swallow their offerings for her. I observed that, at sunset, they light five matches ('Josh sticks'), which were stuck up in different parts of the boat. Upon my asking the boatman why he did so, he replied, that it was 'Chin Chin Josh,' meaning that it was

an offering to the god of the sea, for the continuation of a good breeze. Upon my trying to persuade him that such idolatry was all folly, he replied, '*That have old custom.*' That it is an old custom, is evidence enough to any Chinese, that whatever he may be doing, is right; and foreign innovations or improvements, in any case, are repelled with scorn. The fast-boat men are generally a pretty faithful and industrious class, and live better than the generality of the laboring Chinese.

"I arrived at Macao about eight in the evening, and was pulled ashore in a little cockle-shell of a shore boat, by a couple of Chinese ladies, quite active, brisk-looking girls. On my landing, however, they were loud in their demands for 'cumshard, cumshard' (a present); and a dollar would hardly satisfy them for pulling me twenty yards. I was next obliged to pay the mandarin a dollar for the privilege of landing, and was then allowed to go into the hotel, which seemed quite a respectable establishment, and was kept by a Chinese. Upon my arrival there, a book was brought to me requiring the name and cargo of the ship, the number of our guns, and other particulars. My principal object, in coming here, was to procure a pilot, to conduct our ship up to Canton; and arrangements to this effect were soon made.

The pilot, however, needed a little time to prepare for his departure, particularly to obtain from the authorities the proper documents authorizing the ship to proceed; and I embraced the opportunity thus afforded for obtaining some little knowledge of Macao. It is situated in the depth of a small bay, on the extreme end of an island, separated from the continent by the river Tigris, and is the only spot, within the dominions of the emperor of China, where foreigners are allowed to have their families. The foreign residents at Macao, probably, do not exceed in number, three thousand, including Portuguese, English and Americans; and their limits, as to territory, are within the space of three miles one way, and one mile the other, beyond which bounds, they cannot pass. There are a great many Chinese living at Macao; and the government, though nominally in the hands of the Portuguese, is administered, in fact, by Chinese mandarins. The Portuguese, however, have their own governor, and were allowed to build a fort at each end of the town, where their flags are kept hoisted. They have one or two churches, and a monastery and nunnery. The number of padres and friars, even in that confined community, is not small; and you meet them at every turn in the street. There are quite a number of handsome buildings, particularly

those belonging to the honorable East India Company; and some of the streets are clean and well paved. Macao, from the bay, presents a very pretty appearance, the principal buildings facing the water; and throughout the year, it is said to be a healthy residence.

"At four o'clock of the afternoon of the next day, I started from Macao with my pilot, and reached the ship at Lintin at twelve o'clock the same night.

"At this stormy season of the year, ships do not lie at Lintin. It is a small, barren island, inhabited only by a few fishermen. The next evening, we got under way for Whampoa, and arrived that night at Chumpee, just outside of the Bocca Tigris, or mouth of the Tigris. It is called by the English and Americans *Bogue.* It is not more than a quarter of a mile wide, and ships are not allowed to pass through it in the night. It is defended, on each side, by two or three forts, considered, no doubt, by the Chinese, as impregnable, but which are, in fact, rather ludicrous specimens of fortification. Each fort is surrounded by a stone wall, which, the sailors say, is for the purpose of preventing the soldiers from running away. Upon the ship's arrival at the Bogue (i. e. the entrance of the river), the pilot is obliged to go, in his boat, to each fort, and

present his chop, or passport, from the head mandarin, for the passage of the ship. Upon passing within the Bogue, you are considered as within the jurisdiction of the laws of China; and a petty mandarin is sent to remain by the ship, during the time she is in the river, to prevent smuggling.

"The river within the Bogue is of irregular width, and the channel for ships is narrow. The banks of the river are low, and sometimes overflowed: they are extremely fertile and highly cultivated. The population of the country is so very great, that every patch of ground that is capable of vegetation, is improved. The number of junks and boats of all sizes and shapes, that are constantly passing up and down the river, in all directions, is immense; and not unfrequently you may see the poor fisherman cruising about from place to place, in search of something to prolong a miserable existence, his boat containing his home, his family, and the amount of his worldly possessions. A stranger, at least, cannot view with indifference such a scene, so entirely dissimilar to any thing he may meet with elsewhere.

"The strength of the tide in the river is such, that it is impossible to make any progress, until its turn is in your favor; and it was not until the third day after leaving Lintin, that we arrived at

Whampoa. The river is so narrow as only to admit of two ships lying abreast; and the *reach* or anchorage extends three or four miles up and down the river. Immediately on our arrival at this anchorage, we were surrounded by thirty or forty different boats. First came the *comprador*, or Boston Jack, as he is called, a stout, portly China-man, who supplies most of the American ships lying here, with whatever they require. Then came the boatmen, each one anxious and begging to obtain the employment of waiting upon the ship during her stay here. Then came the washer-women, some twenty or thirty, of all ages, each one clamorous for the privilege of washing the clothes for the men. All this constituted a bustling scene.

"Whampoa is the great anchorage ground for European ships; and, in the business season of the year, there will be found here the richest and finest fleet of merchant vessels in the world. There were sixty here when we arrived.

"On the left side of the anchorage, going up, is a fertile island, called Dane's Island, covered with fields of paddy and sugar-cane. It is so named from the privilege formerly allowed the Danes of going ashore for their amusement, at any time, and for the purpose of burying their dead there. French Island, just above it, is so

called from the same circumstances. The Chinese prefer that foreigners, when ashore, should be kept separate, in consequence of their liability to quarrel. French Island is covered with trees, and has on it a considerable village. There are thousands of Chinese, who are born, live and die in their boats on the river, and who obtain an uncertain subsistence by fishing, begging and thieving. They are so numerous, that it is almost unaccountable how they make out to subsist, even by such means.

"The name *Whampoa* designates a village, as well as an anchorage, which is situated on an island of the same name, in the middle of the river, leaving a passage to Canton on each side. It is almost exclusively inhabited by persons employed as government officers, *Hoppoo men*, or custom-house officers, and persons employed in waiting upon and working for the foreign ships lying in the river. No foreigner is allowed to enter the village, unless accompanied by the comprador, who waits upon the ship to which they belong. He conducts them only to his own house, and is himself held strictly accountable for their good conduct when with him. From the glimpse I once got of the streets, when passing pretty near, I should not consider the temptation to enter it very strong.

"A little way above Whampoa village, and the most conspicuous object around, is a Chinese pagoda, said to be one of the highest in the prôvince. It is situated on a little mound, which you pass very near, in going up the river. It is nine stories in height, surrounded by a sort of balcony or lookout, which may be two hundred feet from the ground. It is built entirely of a grey colored stone, of a circular form, each story surrounded with a gallery, and regularly decreasing in circumference as they rise from the lower one, which may be forty feet through. It bears marks of being of very ancient date, the stone being of a sort of dirty buff color, similar to old marble. Trees and shrubs are growing out from the nooks and crevices, that abound all over the building; and from the top of the pagoda there are two or three pretty large trees growing out. From the bottom of the building, inside, you can look to the top, there being no stairway, and the only way of ascending it being by means of a small ladder, which you may drag up with you from story to story. The walls inside are covered with a sort of porcelain, painted rudely in figures of flying dragons and other fantastical and ludicrous Chinese devices. It has a magnificent, and, at the same time, a desolate and melancholy appearance, built, as it must have been, at an

immense expenditure of time and labor, and for some idolatrous purpose, rearing its lofty height far above every thing around it—a monument of wasted labor and misdirected skill, and strangely contrasting with the thousand scenes of misery and wretched suffering within view of it. Its base is surrounded with some few miserable hovels, the abode of twenty or thirty half-starved wretches, in rags and filth, and all the horrors of squalid penury.

"Half way from Whampoa to Canton is another pagoda, on the bank of the river, and exactly similar to that at Whampoa. Near it, on a point at the bend of the river, is a large fort belonging to the Chinese government, and erected there at the expense of a great Hong merchant, and called by his name.

"Canton is fourteen miles by water from Whampoa, and, on each side of the river, the land is low and marshy, and converted into paddy fields very richly cultivated. Until within three or four miles of the city, you see but very few buildings on shore, and nothing but the cultivation of the soil to assure you that you are in an extremely populous country. As you approach Canton, however, the scene alters entirely: each side of the river is lined with vast numbers of boats of various sizes, and the shore covered with chop

houses, Chinese junks, of the most grotesque models, and of all sizes, from fifty to a hundred tons; junks, too, from Siam, Cochin-China, Hainan and Japan, each distinguished by its own peculiarities of form. They are all appropriately called *junks*, being flat-bottomed, wall-sided, with a high, square, open stern, far too large in proportion to the other part of the hulk, the bluff bows turning in, after the shape of a fiddle head. On each bow is painted a monstrous eye, that the junk, as the Chinese say, may be enabled to *see her way through the water in the night.* They appeared to me an awkward and unmanageable kind of craft.

"When within about two miles of the foreign factories, in the suburbs of Canton, it is a difficult matter even for a small boat to get along without molestation, the river being narrow, and choked with vast numbers of canal boats, chop boats, &c., and thousands of passage boats, driving about in every direction, each one looking out for himself alone, and the tide running either up or down, with great force and rapidity. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, we at last reached the city; but, as no one in the boat with me had ever been up the river before, it was some time before I could find the place where foreigners were allowed to land. I had got too far up; and twice,

in attempting to put ashore, I was received with such scowling looks and threatening gestures, as to show that I was approaching forbidden ground. After cruising up and down some time, I at last found an opening in front of the factories, and determined to land, right or wrong, and accordingly pushed in through a score of boats, and got ashore in the midst of no inconsiderable uproar, which was raised against me. Here, however, I met with a gentleman who had seen the difficulty in which I had been involved, and who came down to direct me which way to go. I had not come far from the mark, and only had to send the boat a little farther down. At any rate, I found myself on terra firma, on the soil of the far-famed celestial empire, the earthly paradise; and I said to myself, as I looked around me, 'If this be a fair sample of its beauties, it is no paradise for me.'

"The space allowed for the residences of the foreigners at Canton is on the north bank of the river, and runs east and west about one quarter of a mile, and north and south the length of the Hongs, or ranges of factories. This includes the whole space in China where foreigners are *privileged* to reside. There are twelve Hongs belonging to the residents, the ends of which face the river, and run back, in a straight line, three

or four hundred feet, each Hong being divided into five, and some of them into six factories or tenements. Each Hong is designated by its own name. They are substantially built of brick or stone, and form very comfortable residences. The front factories are ten stories in height, and most of the inner ones three. A passage way or court, of sufficient width, runs through the middle of each Hong, from one end to the other. The buildings belong to the foreign merchants, and the ground on which they stand, to the Hong merchants, who are Chinese; and they are responsible for the good conduct of all the foreigners whom they deal with. The ground rent of the factories is very exorbitant. The Hong belonging to the honorable East India Company is by far the most splendid of the group, having a spacious and elegant verandah projecting in front of it, where the officers of the company generally dine in summer; and in front of that, a walled garden, extending to the river. The Dutch have a Hong pretty much on the same plan; but it will not compare with it in magnificence.

"Foreigners are allowed to go to any part of the suburbs of the city, which are very extensive, but on no account whatever are they to be admitted within the walls of the city. The only place where the residents can walk for recrea-

tion, is the little square in front of the factories; and there the greater part of the whole community of them may be seen walking to and fro. It may be called their fashionable place of resort. The 'Point,' which projects a little into the river, and which is the spot where foreigners are allowed to land in their boats, is a narrow space, perhaps sixty feet wide, a dirty, muddy spot, swarming with children from the boats that throng the banks. From this point, a stranger may, for a long time, contemplate with interest the scene before him. It is the station of two or three petty mandarins, whose duty is to see that nothing is smuggled on or from shore, in the foreigners' boats. It is said, however, that a dollar or two will seldom fail of making them completely blind, when it is the will of the giver that it should be so. It is the starting place, also, of hundreds of passage boats, constantly plying with their passengers, to and from Honam, on the opposite side of the river. A greater part of these boats are propelled by females, who, in appearance, are hardly distinguished from the men, being extremely rough and masculine in their manners and habits. It is really amusing to stand and view the singular habits and the variety of characters of the multitudes that may always be seen at the point. Here may be seen a cluster of stupid, thick-

headed China-men, looking with affected scorn and contempt; the staid and sedate Parsees or Persians; the supercargoes and other officers of the English and American ships; and other foreign residents. Jack Tar also helps to vary the scene, loaded with his traps and knick-knacks, waiting for the turn of tide, or reeling about in a state of inebriety. The Lascars, or Malays, on furlough, are there, too, cooking their rice and curry in the open air, growling and quarrelling with every one who approaches too near them. The shore, too, is lined with hundreds of boats, lying in tiers of three or four deep, the habitations of thousands of Chinese, whose means of subsistence are a mystery. The square in front of the factories, during the day, is usually occupied by a host of barbers, quack doctors, smugglers, fortune-tellers, thieves, &c., who can pick pockets with great dexterity, and who frequently exercise their art upon their own countrymen from the mountains, when gazing, with eyes and mouth wide open, in stupid wonder, at the novel scene.

"There are ten Hong merchants at Canton, specially appointed by government to transact the foreign trade, and who have particular privileges, which are not allowed to the 'outside men,' as all the other traders are called. Through their hands the entire crop of tea is sold and shipped

from their several Hongs. Their Hongs, as has been before remarked, are immense store-houses, substantially built of brick or stone, running in a lateral direction from the bank of the river to the depth of four or six hundred feet. The quantity of merchandise constantly passing in and out of them is immense. There is a heavy duty levied by government on all imports and exports, upon the receipt and delivery of which the Hoppoo men, and custom-house officers are constantly on hand. The Hong merchants, individually and as a body, are held responsible, by government, for the good conduct and quiet demeanor of all foreigners residing at Canton, and through them, only, can any application be made to government for the redress of grievances. In fact, the mandarins, with regard to any circumstances connected with trade, recognize only the Hong merchants. Every ship, on her arrival at Whampoa, must, before she can proceed to business, be 'secured' by a Hong merchant, who is obliged to give heavy bonds that the whole business of the ship shall be conducted exactly according to law, that no smuggling whatever shall be allowed, and that the officers and crew of the ship behave themselves correctly.

"An instance occurred, while we were there, of an officer of one of the 'country ships' smug-

gling on board two small cases of silk, his own adventure. On its being discovered, the mandarins demanded from the Hong merchant and consignee thirty thousand dollars; and, after being detained for three weeks, the ship was released by the payment of ten thousand dollars. The Chinese, in such cases, would be unable to prevent a ship's getting under way, and going to sea. But the ship would have to go without her 'grand chop,' as it is called, or permission to pass the forts, which can never be obtained so long as there be any suspicion that all is not right. The result would be, that the trade with that nation to which the ship belonged would be stopped, and to renew it, would be utterly impossible until the full fine was paid.

"Between the American and *Monquas* Hongs, runs Old China street, well known to all who have visited Canton. The entrance to it is through a strong gate, which can be closed at any time. The street is perfectly straight, and is well paved with broad flag-stones. The shops are of two stories, built of stone and brick, and are very uniform in appearance. On each shop door is a sign, in English, showing the name and profession of the occupant. Most of the silk-merchants reside here, with whom the contracts for silk are generally made, who keep in their shops only

samples of the different kinds. Here, also, are the shops of the 'chow-chow men.' *Chow-chow* means any article of merchandise excepting teas and silks. These shops abound with curiosities and valuables of almost every kind, and a stranger may quickly expend a large amount ere he be aware of it. Ivory, pearl, and tortoise-shell, are famous articles of manufacture; and it is surprising how cheap they can be afforded. Paintings on rice paper and glass, lackered ware, China ware, &c. &c., can be furnished in any quantity, and at the shortest notice.

"Many of these 'outside men' are considered honest in their dealings, particularly those who think they have obtained a 'good face,' which they are anxious to preserve unspotted. Still a transient dealer must be on his guard, as they have usually a variety of prices for their goods, which they demand according to the quality and appearance of the buyer. They all speak a sort of Anglo-Chinese dialect, which, at first, it is rather difficult to understand. They are indefatigable in pursuit of 'pidgeon,' or trade, and will contract to furnish almost any thing with the prospect of making any thing by it. Contracts with them are, of course, always verbal, and punctually executed by those who do not wish to 'lose face.' Immediately upon a stranger's arrival at Canton,

he may rely upon being visited by the whole host of these dealers in China street, who, full of their compliments, demand his name, his business, &c. Each presents his card, and says, '*My* like very much do litty pidgeon long you.'

"New China street, which runs between the Danish and French Hongs, is of the same extent, and similar to Old China street. They are both occupied exclusively by men engaged in trade with the foreigners.

"The other streets in the suburbs of Canton, are very numerous, and are so narrow and irregularly laid out, as to form a complete labyrinth, from which a stranger, without a guide, can extricate himself only by his good luck. He may, unfortunately, stroll into some quarter unfrequented by foreigners,—and such instances are not uncommon,—when he will be hooted at, and beset, and perhaps robbed, by a mob of mischievous boys, old and young. The shops are innumerable, most of them large, and abundantly furnished with almost every imaginable variety of articles, and far surpassing in richness every thing I have ever before seen. The shops are entirely open in front, and are generally painted with various colors, over which scarlet and vermilion predominate. There are numerous signs, hung perpendicularly, covered with gilt Chinese charac-

ters. In these shops you seldom meet with any one who understands English. Whatever you may wish for will be obtained by the dealers in China street.

"Physic street is the name of one of the handsomest of these streets—entirely occupied by apothecaries. The shops are kept very clean, and apparently well furnished. Picture street is one of the most interesting, containing whole shops of paintings on glass—an art in which the Chinese much excel. The best of these pictures frequently represent the emperor, or some of his family. Such pictures are interdicted exportation, under a severe penalty. Carpenters' square is a considerable cluster of buildings, occupied entirely by carpenters employed almost exclusively by the foreigners. The Chinese are very expert and neat in making furniture and trunks; and labor is so very cheap, that such articles can be obtained upon very moderate terms.

"'Hog lane,' contiguous to the English Company's Hong, and running parallel with it, is the place where sailors usually make their purchases. It is a narrow, dirty street, formerly named, by the residents, 'Hong lane,' as it led from the square into the suburbs, but is corrupted by the sailors into 'Hog lane,' which is quite as appropriate. It is occupied entirely by petty trades-

men, who have assumed English names, such as 'Jemmy,' 'Good Tom,' &c., and who generally succeed in drawing from Jack all his hard-earned money, ere he leaves them. Each one has two or three signs up before his door, calculated to catch the eye of a sailor, representing flags, ships, &c., and frequently very odd and ludicrous devices in English. The moment a boat's crew get ashore, a half a dozen of these Hog lane men surround them, entice them into their shops, and, with the aid of spirituous liquors, seldom fail of obtaining all their cash.

"The city of Canton itself is surrounded by a wall of irregular height, from thirty to forty feet. One of the principal gates is within a half a mile of the factories. The thickness of the wall here may be twenty feet; the gate perhaps as many wide. It is guarded by two or three soldiers, dressed in the uniform of the emperor, of a tawdry yellow color. An uninterrupted crowd of people are constantly flowing in and out of it; but among that crowd you never see a 'Fanquai.'* I attempted twice to pass within the walls, first by flattery and gentle means, and again, by a sudden push; but to no effect. These watchful servants of his celestial majesty were too much on the

* A European.

alert: they seemed, however, rather amused than provoked, at my attempts to pass them. I was allowed to go far enough to look inside, and to inhale a draught of the forbidden air, and to see that there was but little difference between the confined and crowded street within, and that without. It is said, however, that the streets within are generally wider and cleaner, and the buildings generally more neat and comfortable. From a view of the city from the top of the factory, there appeared to be but a few buildings beyond the ordinary size, and but few spires of any height. It is said that there are some very fine and extensive gardens within the city. The houses are generally built of wood and covered with tiles. Fires, of course, are common, and often cause much destruction and misery. Shameen, a portion of the suburbs just above the factories, and separated from them only by a small creek, was burnt down while we were there. In the short space of four hours, three or four hundred houses were completely destroyed, and forty or fifty of the miserable occupants perished in the flames. In the year 1822, all the foreign factories were destroyed by a fire, which first originated near the walls of the city.

"About two miles above Canton, on the banks of the river, are the Fahteen Gardens, where the

residents frequently resort, in the summer season, for the purpose of recreation, and the enjoyment of a purer and renovating air. Fahteen consists of a cluster of gardens, regularly arranged on the banks of the river, expressly intended as a fashionable place of concourse for the Chinese gentry, although foreigners are readily admitted, upon the payment of a trifling sum. Each garden is enclosed, and covers a space of five or six acres, in front of which is a store or public house, where the proprietor of the garden lives, who furnishes visitors with whatever refreshments they may require, and keeps bouquets and pots of flowers. In the rear of the building, hid among the trees on each side of the garden, are the ranges of rooms for the separate accommodation of different parties, finished very much after the style of the fashionable coffee-houses and restaurateurs in Europe. In fact, so far as convenience, neatness, and beauty of workmanship, are regarded, these rooms display nothing of barbarism, or want of taste; and they can be speedily furnished with the means of comfort and luxury. In the centre of the garden is an exuberant collection of beautiful flowers, of a great variety of species, most of them of the richest fragrance and beauty, neatly arranged in rows. Fruit-trees are abundant.

"Many of the plants are in large earthen jars, and are daily watered and nurtured by men in constant attendance. In the middle of the garden is a pond, of a circular form, artificially excavated, its depths abounding with fish of various kinds, and its surface with 'mandarin ducks'—birds of a most splendid plumage. At its sides are little buildings, containing all the apparatus and appurtenances necessary for bathing. In the rear of all is a thick grove of shady trees, intersected with graveled walks, and abounding with arbors, which form a gratifying and delightful retreat from the bustling hum of the confined and noisome air of Canton.

"A favorite amusement of some of the residents is that of pulling and sailing up the river in boats. They sometimes land on the banks, and take a walk; but they dare not go back far, as they would be likely to be waylaid, robbed and beaten by the Chinese. The prospect up the river is beautiful. Islands are numerous, covered with trees, or highly cultivated, and often adorned with pagodas and 'Josh houses.' The country is, apparently, very fertile, and every foot of it under the hand of the agriculturalist. The surface of the river is covered with ten thousand junks, and boats of different sizes. Huge canal-boats, which, in size and shape, perhaps, furnish

not a bad illustration of Noah's ark, laden either with country produce or foreign merchandise, are seen passing up or down the river, which, by means of canals, is navigable for hundreds of miles into the interior.

"Honam is a considerable island, opposite the city of Canton, and divides the stream of the river in two parts, one of which flows through the Bogue, and the other forms the back passage to Macao, and separates it from the continent. Honam is thickly inhabited, is very fertile, and many of the Chinese gentlemen have their dwellings and families there, retiring there themselves after the business of the day. On the island is a cultivated and extensive Budhist monastery, said by Mr. Bridgeman, with whom I visited it, to be the largest and richest in the empire, excepting one at Pekin. The buildings and grounds immediately occupied for the use of the monastery, are surrounded by a stone wall, which encloses the space of several acres. The entrance into this large establishment is from a narrow, dirty street, crowded with fishermen and beggars, through a small wicket gate, just large enough to admit a single person, into a spacious and magnificent court-yard, covered with verdure, and adorned with rows of beautiful trees, a species of bannian. Through the centre of the

yard is a fine pavement, of broad, flat stones, leading towards the different temples. To see the buildings to advantage, it was necessary to apply to the prior for some one to attend us, and to whom we were obliged to pay three dollars. In the first temple are two gigantic idols, placed in a sitting posture, and each one surrounded by a railing. They are made of clay, and may be twenty feet high, with proportional and portly dimensions. They are frightfully painted, with huge glaring eyes, and a countenance intended to be as terrific as possible. The principal temple, and the one in which the monks hold their daily exercises, is in the centre of the others, the floor of which may measure sixty feet by eighty. It contains three huge idols, placed side by side in the centre of the building, and entirely covered with heavy gilding. On each side of the temple are ranges of lesser idols, covered with gilding, representing the persons of the different saints. Vases of incense and candles are kept burning before the principal idols, on an altar, not very dissimilar in form to that used by Roman Catholics. The ceiling is painted with the usual grotesque designs of the Chinese, and the walls are hung with tablets and crimson tapestry. The floor is tiled, and covered with painted cloth. We happened to be there at the time of service,

which, as far as I could discover, seemed to consist wholly of a nasal drawling, or chanting, in which they all join, occasionally walking in single file around the temple. The only instrumental music, accompanying these discordant sounds, is the jingling of a small bell, and the drumming, with a piece of bamboo, upon a hollow block of wood. The roof of the temple is not high, and its angles are beautified with scaly snakes and flying dragons. At a little distance from this temple is another, of the same description, intended exclusively for the females, who perform their daily exercises there; there are a number of other temples in the range, containing idols that are worshipped and consulted as occasion may require. The cells for the monks are long ranges of low buildings, extending on each side of the temples, each monk having his own apartment to himself. Here are kept some half a dozen pigs, which are set apart as sacred (for what particular purpose, we could not ascertain), and are allowed to live in inglorious ease and plenty, to the extent of time allowed them by nature. They are not of very large frames, but excessively corpulent. Two or three of them are greatly advanced in years, and so much encumbered with flesh and somnolency as hardly to possess the power of motion.

"In the rear of the buildings are paddy fields, lined with fruit-trees, and extensive gardens, well filled with vegetables and esculent roots, which form, or should form, the principal food of the members of the monastery. Farther back, in a grove of trees, is the cemetery of the establishment, of singular form and structure, in which only the ashes of the deceased are deposited in vases, a furnace being near, where the bodies are consumed."

CHAPTER III.

DIFFICULTIES.

We cannot, by any general descriptions, give our readers so definite ideas of the commercial habits of the Chinese, and of some traits of the national character, as by narrating some anecdotes illustrative of the nature of the difficulties which have arisen between them and the foreigners who have resorted to Canton for the purpose of trade. In order that these cases may be the better understood, we must preface the chapter with a little information in respect to the manner in which the trade has been, and still is, conducted, some of which information has, however, been already anticipated.

The Portuguese, as has been already stated, we believe, were the first to get possession of the privilege of trading with China. By dint of much manœuvring, and after many unsuccessful efforts, the English East India Company obtained permission to send their ships there, at certain seasons of the year, though they were allowed, at first, to buy and sell only through a *single individual*,

appointed by the emperor. He was called the "emperor's merchant;" and he paid government a considerable sum of money for the privilege of the exclusive trade with the Europeans. Of course, he could regulate prices at his will, as the ships would be compelled to come to his terms, or to return with their cargoes. This system was soon abandoned.

It was not until towards the middle of the last century, that the trade with Canton assumed a regular shape. The ships were then despatched to Canton at certain seasons of the year, supracargoes being appointed for each ship, whose business it was to sell the outward cargoes, and to purchase the teas, silks, &c., for lading the ships on their return. These supracargoes were subjected to many restrictions during their stay. They were required to lodge in one house, to keep but one table; and a portion of them, called the Select Committee, constituted a sort of board of consultation, and were accustomed to meet frequently, to take into consideration such subjects as were of common interest. They kept full journals of these deliberations, which will be alluded to more particularly in what follows.

The manner in which the trade was carried on, so far as the arrival and departure of the vessels is concerned, was thus: "As soon as a

ship appeared among the islands which front the entrance to the Canton river, she was generally boarded by a pilot, who conducted her to the place of anchorage, near Macao. The entrance, however, was so safe, that ships often pushed on without waiting for the pilot, who in bad weather was sometimes long in coming on board. The pilots' names were registered at an office near Macao; and all who were licensed paid the sum of six hundred dollars. The person who took out the license sometimes knew nothing about ships or the river; but in such cases he employed fishermen to do the duty. On the ship's arrival at Macao, the pilot went on shore to report her to the custom-house officer, who, after a few inquiries, gave a permit for her to pass through the mouth of the river, or Bogue, as it is called, and ordered a river pilot on board. When he arrived, which seldom happened before a day had passed, the vessel proceeded through the Bogue, and up the Canton river, to Whampoa.

"Every ship that entered the port was required to have a Hong merchant as security for the duties, and a linguist and *comprador*, before she could commence unloading. She was also required to give a written declaration, solemnly affirming that she had brought no opium; for the importation of that article was forbidden. The

ships of the East India Company, however, were excused from this declaration.

"The Hong or security merchants were the only individuals who were legally permitted to trade with foreigners. To obtain this privilege, they were obliged to pay largely; and when once they became merchants, they were rarely allowed to retire, and were at all times subject to severe exactions from the local government. The linguists were custom-house interpreters, who procured permits for delivering and taking in cargoes, transacted all the custom-house business, and kept account of the duties. Also all the minor charges of the government were paid by them, in consideration of which they received a fee of about one hundred and seventy-three dollars, previous to the vessel's departure.

"When a vessel wished to discharge or receive goods, the linguist was informed a day or two previously of the fact, and also of the kind of goods, and of the quantities: he then applied for a permit, which being issued, the lighters or chop-boats, by which the goods were conveyed to and from Canton, proceeded from Canton down the river to Whampoa. For a single boat the linguist received a fee of twenty-three dollars; but if he employed from two to six boats, the fee was only fifteen and a half dollars for each.

"When the goods were ready to be landed from, or sent to the ship, the Hoppoo, whose duty it was to oversee foreign commerce, sent a domestic, a writer, and a police runner; the Hong merchant who secured the ship sent a domestic; and the linguist sent an accountant and interpreter, to attend at the examination of the goods. The Hong merchants were always held responsible by the government for paying all the duties, whether on imports or exports, in foreign vessels; and, therefore, when goods were purchased, it was customary for the parties, before fixing the price, to arrange between themselves who was *actually* to pay the duties. The Hong merchants were required to consider the duties to be paid to government as the most important part of their affairs. In default of payment on the part of any one of them, his property was seized by government, and sold to pay the amount; and if all that he possessed was inadequate, he was sent from prison into banishment at Ele, in Western Tartary, which the Chinese called the 'cold country,' and the body of Hong merchants were commanded to pay in his stead."

In case of any difficulty with any persons connected with the foreign ships, the policy of the Chinese has always been, not to resort to any violent measures for redress, nor to attempt to

investigate the affair themselves, but to require the foreigners themselves to do it, and to give up the guilty individual or to pay a very heavy fine for damages; and if the foreigners objected to doing this, or declared themselves unable to do it, the government would stop the trade. The Chinese authorities seem to have learned how valuable to their customers the trade had become, and how necessary the chief article of it—tea—had become to the English people. They were under the necessity, therefore, of doing nothing but simply suspending all commercial intercourse until indemnification for any injury was made.

An example illustrating this occurred in 1784. An English ship was firing a salute, and, by accident, as the English witnesses say, a Chinese was killed. The authorities of Canton, accompanied by the Hong merchants, in a most formal and solemn manner, waited upon the president of the council of supracargoes, and demanded the man who had caused the death. They were informed that it could not be ascertained who he was; that in all probability he had absconded; and that the ship, being what they call a "country ship," that is, one trading from some of the neighboring British possessions to Canton, and not from England, was one which the council had no control over. This excuse, or rather these

excuses,—for they showed, by their number and their inconsistency, that they were none of them genuine,—were not satisfactory to the Chinese authorities, and the difficulties seemed to increase. Under these circumstances, the supracargo of the ship whose salute had originated the trouble, concluded to go to the city to explain the affair. Upon his landing, he was taken before the authorities, and examined, and then, under a military guard, was carried into the heart of the city a close prisoner.

Such a proceeding alarmed not only the other English supracargoes, but also all the European residents; for they perceived at once that any one of them would be equally liable to be imprisoned in case of an accident occurring through the carelessness of any one in their employ. They sent orders to the foreign ships then lying, as usual, at Whampoa, to man and arm their boats, and send them forthwith to Canton, as well to show the Chinese authorities that they were prepared for the most decisive measures, as actually to defend the council from hostile measures, if any should be resorted to against them. The menacing attitude thus assumed by the Europeans was met by similar manifestations on the part of the Chinese. They resolutely refused to give up the supracargo, unless the unfortunate gunner

should be surrendered to the punishment which their laws assigned.

The Europeans, finding that the authorities were inflexible, that all trade was suspended, and that their friend, the supracargo, could not be restored to them but by giving up the gunner, who was, all this time, notwithstanding the story of his having absconded, safe on board his own ship, reluctantly concluded to surrender him. He was accordingly conducted to the pagoda, and "recommended to the protection of the Chinese!" An hour after, the supracargo, who had been imprisoned, returned, saying that he had been treated in the most civil manner, while he had been detained, many of the mandarins having called upon him and sent him presents.

The poor gunner was detained in custody until a message could be sent to Pekin for orders from the emperor. In about two months an answer was returned, requiring him to be strangled. After the sentence was executed, the gentlemen of the several European nations were summoned to attend the mandarins, and were told that the emperor was greatly displeased with them for having so long delayed giving the man up; that the law was extremely moderate in requiring the sacrifice of only one life, for *two* that had been taken (one having been lost on a former occasion); and

"that the government expected, in case a similar circumstance should happen again, that the Europeans would pay a more ready obedience to the commands of the mandarins, or that they must abide the consequences of a refusal."

The firing of salutes at the port of Canton was prohibited from this time. Difficulties somewhat similar to this continued to occur from time to time: the one, however, which we shall next describe, took place in 1807. It was in the month of March. The ship Neptune, belonging to the East India Company, was in port; and a disturbance arose between some of her crew, who were on shore near the factory, and some Chinese. The officers of the ship immediately quelled it, by securing their men within the factory; but the Chinese followed them in great numbers, and continued through the day to throw stones at the factory, and at every European passing. There were several mandarins and merchants present, who did all in their power to restrain and disperse the mob, but in vain. While things were in this state, the sailors suddenly forced their way out of the factory, and made a furious attack upon their besiegers. They were almost immediately brought back by their officers, but not until one of the Chinese had been killed.

The committee of supracargoes, on hearing

of the affair, immediately felt the most serious apprehensions for the consequences. They did all they could to prevent its coming before the mandarins, but did not succeed. They held a sort of court of inquiry on board the Neptune, but could not fix the guilt of the murder upon any individual. The Hong merchant who was responsible for this ship,—for, as has before been stated, one of them must be responsible for every ship, while she remains in harbor,—was involved in the most serious difficulties, and offered $20,000 for the discovery of the perpetrator; but he was not to be found. The Chinese authorities, in the mean time, forbid the Neptune to receive her cargo, and gave orders that no ship should sail until the criminal was given up.

This state of things continued for some time. The Chinese abstained from all acts of violence, and made no attempts at seizure of any persons among the Europeans, as they had done on the former occasion, but firmly persisted in prohibiting the sailing of the ships. It was at length agreed that an examination of fifty-two men belonging to the Neptune should take place at the factory. The Chinese had at first insisted that the court should be held at the city; but this they at length waived. They had also demanded that the men should be examined by torture, which, of course,

was not allowed. The forms and solemnities of a Chinese court of justice were observed at this singular trial, though seats were expressly provided for some of the most distinguished of the English officers then in port, and some English soldiers, with fixed bayonets, were stationed at the door.

The Chinese produced no evidence; but the English officers selected eleven men, who had been most violent, in hopes that some punishment inflicted upon them would satisfy the Chinese, without the necessity of putting any to death. This, however, would not do. It was on record that a man had been killed, and by the laws of China, which make magistrates themselves personally responsible for the preservation of order, some punishment or degradation awaited every officer connected with the administration of justice, which could only be averted by making some one individual responsible for the offence.

They could not, however, fix upon any one; that is, they had no evidence against any one; but it was at last "arranged, that one of the eleven, considered by the mandarins as the most guilty, should be named." Were it not that, probably, every one of these sailors was guilty, if not in a technical, at least in a moral point of view, we might regret that they should have been willing to deliver up one, from considerations of policy,

when there was no positive evidence against him. Edward Sheen was the name of the one surrendered. The other ten were sent back to their ship, subject to the disposal of their commander, Sheen being left at Canton, in the hands of the committee. He was kept in custody until the emperor's decision was received, which was, that he might redeem himself from the punishment of death, by the payment of a fine to the relations of the deceased, "for defraying the expense of burial," as the emperor's edict expressed it; and then that he might be dismissed "to be orderly governed in his own country."

In 1808, a somewhat serious difficulty occurred on account of a British admiral's having landed some troops at Macao to aid the Portuguese in defending the place against an expected attack from the French. The Portuguese had pledged themselves to the Chinese government not to admit the troops of any nation at Macao without their consent; but it was thought, on this occasion, that the Chinese were more likely to refuse consent if it were asked, than to make any difficulty if the troops were landed without it; and, consequently, the step was taken without any previous notice. This was done with an understanding with the select committee at Canton, who had charge of the commercial interests of the company

there. The Portuguese governor, however, at Macao, remonstrated against it.

Thére came immediately a letter from the "Hoppoo," the officer appointed to superintend the foreign commerce at Canton, protesting strongly against this step. The British admiral then sent a letter to the viceroy, explaining the motives for landing the troops, and defending the measure. The viceroy replied, remonstrating strongly against it, and threatening to report the case to the emperor. The local authorities made various other threats, such as that they would send an armed force to compel them to evacuate Macao, that they would burn the ships at Whampoa, or imprison the English, and put them to death.

This state of mutual hostility and menaces continued for many weeks, the English persisting in retaining the position of the troops, and the Chinese firmly resisting all efforts to renew the trade, or to open any negotiations whatever. The only reply made to all attempts at intercourse of every kind, was that "the troops must be removed, their remaining on shore being contrary to a law of the empire." This the British admiral would not do; and the excitement and hostility daily increased. The English authorities talked of ordering all British subjects off in forty-eight

hours, and of bringing the ships of war up the river, to assume a menacing attitude towards the city itself; and the Chinese government replied that they were ready for war, though they should not commence it, and began to concentrate troops upon the important points along the banks of the river, and some shots were actually exchanged. At length, the English, finding that the Chinese authorities were not to be shaken, gave up the point: the troops were reëmbarked and conveyed away, when the government of Canton allowed the trade to be resumed.

We give one more case, relating it somewhat more in detail than the others, and giving the narrative chiefly in the words of Auber.

The difficulty commenced near the close of the year 1822, arising out of the death of two Chinese, occasioned by firing from a British ship of war, the Topaze, then lying at Lintin. The reader must bear in mind the distinction between a ship of war, under the command of officers of the royal government, and the merchant ships, controlled by the East India Company, as this distinction, and the entire independence of a king's ship of all control on the part of the supra-cargoes, are often alluded to in the narrative.

The barge of the frigate had been despatched to the island of Lintin to obtain water, and also

to enable the seamen to wash their clothes. Whilst engaged on shore for these purposes, they were attacked by a large body of Chinese, armed with clubs and bamboo poles, with spears at the end, wounding six men severely, and bruising eight more. In order to effect the reëmbarkation of the seamen, the officer in command of the frigate fired some round shot, by which the two Chinese were killed: they also sent the two other boats, manned and armed with marines,* from the ship to protect the barge.

Captain Richardson reported this event to the select committee, and, having written a letter to the viceroy representing the circumstances, and calling upon him to punish the Chinese who had been guilty of making the disturbance, requested the committee to allow Dr. Morrison, the English missionary, who was then at Canton, to translate it into Chinese. This was done, and the letter was ultimately presented at the city gates.

On the following day, the Hong merchants waited on the committee with the letter unopened, to ascertain whether it was really from Captain Richardson. On receiving an assurance to that effect, they took it to the viceroy, by whom it was received, and who intimated his intention to depute a person to Lintin to investigate the affair.

* Soldiers employed on board ships.

The merchants proposed to Captain Richardson to send the wounded seamen on shore to be examined. This, however, he declined doing; and, though he had no objection to a mandarin going on board the frigate, he would not suffer any official examination to be had there.

On the 22d, Captain Richardson left Canton for Lintin. On that day, the committee were informed that the Whampoa magistrate would not proceed to Lintin to examine into the affair, and that, if the men from the Topaze were not sent on shore, and if Captain Richardson departed before the affair was settled, he should hold the "chief of the nation," that is, the chairman of the select committee, responsible. The committee, having been solicited by the Hong merchants to allow the viceroy's answer to Captain Richardson to be sent through them, declared it to be inadmissible; for it was a great point with them to maintain that they had nothing to do with a king's ship,—that such a vessel was totally disconnected with trade. The viceroy stopped the trade, and two edicts were issued, adverting to the death of the Chinese, in one of which was the following passages:—

"Now, the men-of-war of the said nation are originally established to protect and convey merchandise. If it be not on account of trade, why

do the said nation's ships of war come here without any cause? The said chief, in making the men-of-war and the trade two concerns, talks very absurdly."

"The foreigners of the said nation have heretofore had occasional affairs with the natives, and the usage has always been, to command the Hong merchants to order the chief* what to do. In the thirteenth year of Kea-king, the said nation's men-of-war made a pretext of protecting the Portuguese, and came to Macao. That affair, more than the present, had nothing to do with the commerce; yet, then, the orders were issued to the *chief*, requiring him to enforce their departure. As the said chief remains at Canton to manage the affairs of the said country, there is no affair that he should not manage. How can he, in consequence of the man-of-war having killed a native, make up pretext, and push the affair from him? It is very highly improper."

"Heretofore, the governors have never had official correspondence with the naval officer of said nation. On this occasion, as his representation said, natives had wounded fourteen Englishmen. I therefore deputed an officer to take with

* That is, the president of the select committee, the chief commercial officer on the part of the English, in the port of Canton.

him the Hong merchants and the linguist, and go to Lintin, and take an inquest of foreigners who were wounded, and prosecute. If the said men-of-war really had any men who had received wounds, it was incumbent on him to obey my orders, and deliver them up, and wait till an inquest was taken; and, proof being obtained, the matter might be examined into, and justly prosecuted; but abruptly to request the said deputed officers to go on board to hold an inquest, was not only a violation of the forms of government, but a thing impossible to be done; and then to make this a cause of obstinate resistance, excites a suspicion, that the tale of fourteen men being wounded, was, for the most part, not true."

After publishing this shrewd exposition of his view of the affair, the viceroy gave orders to prevent the Topaze from advancing higher up the river; and an edict was issued, declaring that, if she went away before the affair was settled, the nation's chief and the Hong merchants should certainly be held responsible.

One of the Hong merchants, Chunqua, in an interview with the president, suggested that if the officer were allowed to go on board the Topaze, and examine the wounded men, the difficulties would soon be got over. This was made known to Captain Richardson, who consented to receive

any person on board with civility, but would not allow of any judicial examination.

An attempt was afterwards made by the Hong merchants, under the declared order of the viceroy, to distribute a copy of the edict amongst the commanders of the several ships, in order to separate them from the committee. The commanders returned the edict to the merchants with a declaration, "that they were entirely under the orders of the select committee of the honorable company's affairs, and that, consequently, they were not authorized in holding any correspondence with, or receiving communications of any kind, from the Chinese government."

The select committee, in consequence of the stoppage of the trade, caused the company's treasure to be removed from Canton to Whampoa. The Topaze was then moved from Lintin to Macao, and an edict was issued by the viceroy, declaring that he held the chief responsible. The committee stated that they had no control over ships of war, and requested the viceroy to order some able officer to proceed to Captain Richardson.

Thus the contention went on, the Chinese authorities demanding an investigation of the affair, and the punishment of the individuals who had caused the death of the Chinese; the East

India Company s officers maintaining that they had no authority in the case; and the commander of the ship of war refusing to admit of any Chinese jurisdiction over his majesty's ship, or any of its crew. Each party was firm. In view of the affair at the present stage of it, the select committee entered the following record in the journal which they were required to keep of all their proceedings, and which was forwarded to the company in London :—

"Thus we see ourselves clearly made responsible for the acts of between two and three thousand individuals who are daily coming in contact with the lowest of the Chinese, and exposed to assaults so wanton, and often so barbarous, as well as to robberies so extensive, that self-defence imposes upon them the necessity of attacking their assailants in a manner from whence death must often ensue. A great and important commerce is instantly suspended, whole fleets at times detained, ourselves liable to seizure, and to be the medium of surrendering a man to death, whose crime is only self-defence or obedience to orders, or else to lend ourselves to the most detestable falsehoods, in order to support a fabricated statement which may save the credit of the officers of the Chinese government.

"Can the honorable company wish their servants and their trade to remain in this degraded, this dangerous situation? Will the British government expect that the captain of his majesty's ship is, upon this occasion, to sacrifice every feeling of honor and humanity?

"The captain of his majesty's ship has, in the most decided terms, stated that he never will surrender any of his people to the justice of the Chinese; and, as there is no precedent on record of an honorable adjustment of a case of homicide, we have no ground upon which to remonstrate with his majesty's officers upon the present occasion.

"We shall briefly recapitulate the cases of homicide noted in our records.

"In 1780, a French sailor, who killed a Portuguese in self-defence, was strangled without any form of trial.

"In 1784, the gunner, who, in obedience to orders, fired a gun on the occasion of a ship saluting, was put to death.

"In 1800, the sentinel on the forecastle of his majesty's schooner Providence was charged with the intended murder of a Chinese, whom, in obedience to orders, he fired upon, whilst attempting to cut the schooner's cable. The most serious negotiations ensued, which were terminated by the

wounded man surviving for a period of more than forty days, although he died shortly afterwards.

"In 1806, Edward Sheen, against whom not the shadow of proof existed, was saved by the Chinese officers inventing a most flagrant falsehood as to the manner in which the deceased person came to his death. The form of public trial was, however, gone through; and it must not be forgotten that a most treacherous attempt was made to seize Sheen's person, in violation of the most positive stipulations in writing to the contrary.

"In 1810, an accusation was brought against the English for the murder of a Chinese in the street adjoining our factory. Chinese witnesses attempted to prove the identity of the men, and failed. The form of trial was gone through. A written assurance was given, that, if the men could be found, they should be punished; which assurance caused a renewal of the discussions at the close of the year 1811. In both the foregoing instances, whole fleets were detained when on the point of sailing.

"In 1820, the fifth mate of the Winchelsea having absconded, the charge was got rid of by a most unworthy subterfuge, to which, for the sake of the trade, we were induced to lend our-

selves. The Chinese laws will not admit the possibility of a Chinese magistrate suffering a criminal to escape; and hence, if the identical culprit is not forthcoming, the danger that results to those whom the Chinese, in order to screen themselves, hold as responsible.

"In 1821, an unfortunate occurrence, from which the death of a woman was likely to have ensued, in which the ship Lady Melville was implicated, was settled, as innumerable others have been, by pecuniary inducements to the relatives of the deceased not to lodge complaints with the officers of government.

"A few months ago, Terranovia, a Sicilian belonging to an American ship, charged with throwing a jar at a woman, which is said to have struck her on the head, and to have caused her to fall overboard from her boat, was strangled. He was first examined on board ship, not allowed to call any witnesses, again tried at a commercial hall in the suburbs of Canton, the doors being closed, and not a foreigner of any country allowed to enter. His execution took place within forty-eight hours. It was conducted with illegal secrecy. The report to the emperor falsified the material facts, both of proof and mode of conducting the trial.

"The frequent recurrence of our present dif-

ficulties must be expected, until some change takes place in the footing upon which our intercourse with the Chinese is carried on. The contempt of foreigners, engendered and fostered by the abusive terms in which they are spoken of by the officers of government, the want of police regulation, and the defenceless state in which we are placed by the difficulty of access to the magistrates, leave us exposed to assaults of all descriptions; and, if self-defence is not received as a plea in cases of homicide, no individual can for one instant be considered safe.

"Whatever may be the distinctions in the Chinese written laws, we see that, in the practice, as far as respects Europeans, no discrimination is shown; and, on the present occasion, we see that the plea of self-defence is decidedly rejected.

"The great facility which foreigners have of escaping in ships, and the liability of the whole trade to suspension therefrom, is a consideration of such momentous weight, that we trust that the honorable court will use every effort, by negotiation with the Chinese, and by laws enacted at home, to put the cases of homicide on such a footing as shall prevent embarrassment to the trade."

We give this extract from the committee's

journal, because it explains, somewhat fully, the views which led to the repeated attempts at negotiation by embassies, which will be more particularly described in the next Chapter. — But to return to the story.

Many attempts at negotiation were made in vain. The commander of the king's ship would address a letter to the viceroy, but he would not receive it unless it came through the company's select committee, as the Chinese government refused to recognise any other English authority than that. But the select committee would not be the channel of communication; for the point they were endeavoring to maintain was, that a king's ship was entirely independent of them, and that they had no control over it, or connection with it, whatever. Whenever any communications directly from the committee were made, urging that they ought not to be held responsible, and demanding the opening of the trade, the simple reply always was, that they *were* held responsible, and that they should not be permitted to ship "so much as a thread of silk or the down of a plant," until they had delivered up the foreign murderers.

The company's committee then concluded to try the plan of threatening to abandon the country altogether. They supposed that the Chinese

valued their trade, and would regret a final rupture, and expected that they would yield the point rather than lose altogether their profitable customers. They, accordingly, made preparations for departure, and sent to the viceroy for permission to pass down the river. He returned them answer that he was ready to restore the trade at any time, if they would simply comply with the requisition of the law, to deliver up the foreign murderers; but that, if they wished to renounce their commerce, he would not by force detain them. It was perfectly optional with them to go out of the river: he had given orders that they should not be fired upon.

The Hong merchants were of course strongly desirous that the affair should be settled, as they were the most deeply interested of all the Chinese in the continuance of the trade. At this crisis, therefore, they and the company's committee thought of one more experiment to make. They sent down to the captain of the Topaze, proposing to him to make a communication to the viceroy to the following effect, viz. that the affair which had caused the difficulty was a very serious one, and demanded investigation, but that he could not decide what ought to be done, but that, on his return to his own country, he would report it to his sovereign, that the persons accused might

be brought to trial, according to the laws of the land.

The captain acceded to this proposal, and drew up such a communication, and sent it up to the committee; but then arose the difficulty that the viceroy could not receive it, unless, in some way or other, it should come from the committee. They were unwilling to make any communication from the captain of a king's ship their own, on account of the steadiness with which they had insisted that they had no official connection with such a ship, or control over it; and unless they should make it theirs, their friends, the Hong merchants, knew very well it could not be received. They proposed, in order to avoid the dilemma, that the company's committee should simply add to the communication these words, addressed to the Hong merchants:—"We will trouble you to take this, and communicate the ideas in a statement to the viceroy." This proposal divided the committee. The president saw no objection, but two members opposed it on the ground mentioned above. This project was therefore abandoned.

Another plan was proposed—that the committee should themselves originate a communication to the viceroy, wording it very cautiously, to avoid all appearance of official connection. It was as

follows. The reader will perceive that it was, in fact, the adoption of the communication, which it was before proposed should come from the captain of the Topaze.

"Although this affair ought not to pass through the chief and committee, we have obeyed your commands, and have asked the naval captain how those men-of-war's men, who, at Lintin, caused the death of persons, will be treated.

"The captain said that the affair at Lintin was, indeed, one of importance; and 'in deciding on it, I cannot be master, but, on my return to my own country, it will be reported to my sovereign, that the parties concerned may be prosecuted according to law.' "

To this the same inflexible reply was made which had been returned to all preceding communications—that the merchants might resume the trade at any time, provided that the foreign murderers were given up.

At first the committee thought that no alternative was left but for them to abandon the country. On mature reflection, however, the president came to the conclusion that they ought not to take that step; and things remained as they were, until, at length, the frigate sailed,

with all those who had been concerned in the act of violence on board. When she had actually gone, the committee made another communication to the viceroy, acquainting him with the fact, and calling his attention to the impossibility of their delivering up the murderers, and stating, also, that the captain was fully determined to bring them to trial on their arrival in their own country. The viceroy professed himself satisfied with this, and issued an edict for again opening the trade.

In consequence of this affair, the British government ordained that thenceforth no ship of war should enter any port in China during peace, unless on a requisition from the governor-general of India, or the select committee itself. But this affair was not forgotten by the Chinese government for many years. They repeatedly called for a report in regard to the manner in which it was settled in England; which demands the committee had some trouble in evading. In fact, all which was done,—and it was probably as much as ought to have been done,—was, that, on the arrival of the English ship at home, one of the officers was tried, probably for form's sake, and honorably acquitted.

Such are the difficulties which have been almost continually occurring between the Chinese gov-

ernment and their European customers. These difficulties arise in some degree from the peculiar spirit of the Chinese character and the Chinese law, but more especially from the absence of all settled arrangement and understanding between the government of China and those of the nations whose merchants trade with them. For the information of our younger readers, it may be well to state here, that it is the almost universal practice of the governments of Europe to admit within their own territories the ministers of other governments, as the acknowledged, accredited representatives of a foreign power. At Paris, for instance, there reside ministers from almost all the other European powers, the acknowledged organs of those powers, so that, within the French territories, the existence and the independence of other sovereignties is officially acknowledged. These accredited agents are of various ranks, according to the purposes for which they are severally appointed. They enjoy, however, in all cases, peculiar privileges and powers. The person of a foreign minister is sacred and inviolable: he is held amenable to the laws of his own country alone; his property is not liable to taxation;—in a word, the minister himself, his family, his *attachés*, his attendants, his property, is considered as part and parcel still of the country whence he came; the

whole plan having for its object simply to bring his own government, and that of the country to which he is sent, into juxtaposition, in reference to such subjects as may, from time to time, arise, requiring free communication between the two powers. The innumerable advantages of the plan are obvious. If an American and a French ship, casually together in some remote port, meet with any misunderstanding, and consequently, through accidental circumstances, or the inconsiderateness of the commanders, come into collision, each side is not left to make its own representations to its own government, colored, as they would be, by their respective feelings. There is a French advocate at Washington, and an American advocate at Paris; and friendly negotiation settles, at once, what might, without such an arrangement, lead to a general and fatal collision. In fact, so numerous are the cases requiring this diplomatic discussion, which arise from the extended commercial intercourse, and the complicated relations of the nations of Europe, that it would be thought almost impossible, at the present day, to dispense with the system. It has grown up gradually; but it has, at length, become a universally understood and acknowledged system, among almost all the civilized nations of the world; and the principles which regulate it are among the best

settled, and most sacredly observed, of the principles of international law. Now, it was in a great measure owing to the want of any arrangement of this kind, that the difficulties which have been detailed in this Chapter were so troublesome. There was no regular channel of communication. The power to decide rested with the emperor at Pekin; but he knew nothing of the case except through the local authorities at Canton... They would receive no information except *through* the Hong merchants, and *from* the supracargoes; and they, or their "chief," as the Chinese called the president, was held responsible for every difficulty. The reason why they were so desirous of fixing all responsibility upon the merchants' ships, was, that, by stopping the trade, they could punish the owners; whereas against a man-of-war they could have no remedy. She might sail away at any moment, and soon be beyond the reach of Chinese power. An English minister resident at Pekin, and an established system for the trial of all criminals, and the settlement of disputes, agreed upon by the two powers, would have remedied the difficulty; but his majesty, the mighty monarch of the celestial empire, is far above thus acknowledging, within his domains, the independent sovereignty of other powers. The theory at Pekin has always been, that China is

the central portion of the earth, *the* nation, *the* empire; and that though, beyond its boundaries, far over the seas, there may be indeed a few independent nations of semi-barbarians, in the remote corners of the earth, still, such governments are never to be acknowlédged within the limits of the empire of heaven. If a Portuguese or English ship comes to Canton, it comes, according to the theory of the Chinese, to receive something from their profusion, to carry back to their own comparatively destitute people. The court of Pekin, therefore, has always considered, or pretended to consider, the advantages of trade as altogether on the side of their commercial visitors. They have considered the permission given them as of the nature of a boon, granted by the munificence of the emperor, and, of course, to be regulated entirely by his will, and to continue only during his pleasure. He has, accordingly, refused to regulate the commerce with his subjects by any treaty, or to admit within his territories any accredited resident agent of foreign powers. He goes even farther than this. The reader will see, by looking upon the map, that Pekin, the residence of the royal government, is in the northern part of China Proper, and that Canton is in the south-western part, on a river, which, as represented in the sketch we gave at the commence-

ment of the last Chapter, expands, at its mouth, into a wide bay, which is spotted with islands. If he could look down upon the real scene, from some position among the clouds, he would see the whole coast from Canton to Pekin indented with bays and harbors, and the neighboring seas teeming with the boats and junks of the natives. He would see the most spacious cities scattered along this coast, and the banks of the great rivers, and rich, fertile provinces in the interior, and especially on the coast, midway between Canton and Pekin, covered with the tea plantations, and the mulberry tree; teas and silks being the great articles which the European nations wish to procure.

Now, as we have already observed, the European ships are not allowed to visit this coast, to purchase green teas in Kiagnan, and black teas in Fokien, and silk at Chchiang, and China ware at Kiansy, where these articles are respectively produced. The whole coast is forbidden ground. There is one point, only, which they may approach,—Canton,—two thousand miles from the seat of government, and one thousand from the province of Kiagnan, the chief seat of population and of wealth. The foreign ships may come here to receive, in a certain prescribed way, the produce of the country, sent there for expor-

tation, and this under limits and restrictions of the most rigorous character.

At Macao, a small island seventy miles from Canton, the merchants must leave their families; no European female being allowed to set her foot upon the real Chinese territory. The ships, with their regular officers, may proceed up the river to Canton, where, at one particular landing-place, and at no other, they may step upon terra firma. A definite and very circumscribed portion of the suburb of the city is assigned for their warehouses; and ten or twelve Chinese merchants, only, are legally authorized to trade with them, for the great staples of the country. They are on no account permitted to enter within the walls of the city; they cannot walk, without difficulty or danger, far out of their own limited portion of the suburbs, and they must receive all their supplies, and effect all their purchases and sales, through these Hong merchants, thus commissioned by government to act as the commercial representatives of the empire.*

It is a principle of the Chinese government to carry the personal responsibility of subordinate officers to a most rigorous extreme. Whether

* The spacious warehouses in which the business is transacted are called *Hongs*.

himself to blame or not, a superior must suffer for the guilt or defalcation of those committed to him, unless he can bring the real offender to justice. The governor of a province must not merely do his best to quell an insurrection; he *must quell it*, or suffer punishment himself. Each Hong merchant is responsible for all the rest, and for every foreign captain and crew which does business with him. This principle, which seems to look more towards the efficiency than to the justice of government, is extended to foreigners. The captain of a ship is responsible for any injury, accidental or otherwise, done by any of his crew; and, if the ship in question escapes, the responsibility is thrown upon the other ships of the same nation, and satisfaction is demanded; that is, the surrender of the individual, or the payment of the heavy fine imposed; or a suspension of the whole trade with that nation is, as we have seen, sure to ensue. The plan is certainly ingenious, and admirably adapted to produce its effect, in preventing acts of wanton injury, and in making the commanders of foreign ships vigilant in detecting the authors, when such injuries are done. But, ingenious and efficacious as it is in theory, it has often proved, in practice, grossly unjust and oppressive.

Such is substantially the system which the

Chinese government has adopted, to regulate their trade with foreigners, so as effectually to prevent all mingling with their own people, and all interference with their internal policy. The course which they have thus pursued has been pronounced, by different observers, the height of wisdom, and the most egregious folly. It is natural that they who suffer by it, should condemn it: on the other hand, we are reluctant to approve of any obstructions in the way to free international intercourse, or any walls of permanent separation between the different portions of the great empire of the human mind. In fact, it has been asked, what right one single individual can possibly have to shut out one third of the human family from all intercourse and acquaintance with the rest—a question which it would be difficult to answer. Still, however, we cannot help reflecting, in justification of the reigning family at Pekin, how unfortunate have been the specimens of Christianity which the Oriental nations have generally seen. Christians, according to the ideas which barbarous and semi-barbarous nations must necessarily form, are unprincipled money-getters, roaming about the world to procure the riches of others by violence or fraud; ambitious of empire; inflexibly tenacious of every advantage

they acquire; scattering every where the awful desolations of gunpowder and rum. It is certainly not surprising that China has preferred that its millions should be left to themselves.

Whether this course, however, has been wise or unwise, European governments, as might naturally have been expected, have never been satisfied with it. The inconveniences and difficulties arising from it are of a very serious character. It must be remembered, that the emperor, who is the soul fountain of all authority, has, on this system, no intercourse with foreign powers. Foreigners have no direct access to the government at all. If they have any ground of complaint, or have any request to make, the Hong merchants are the only accessible points of the great Chinese community. Every communication must go through them. Sometimes they are unwilling to present a communication, thinking it will be unpopular with the government; and the government, in accordance with a principle which has already been alluded to, holds the bearer of a message in a great degree responsible for its contents. At other times, the subject of a communication may be a question in which the Hong merchants are themselves concerned; and then their own representations go to the government, and no possible

means are within the reach of the foreign residents, by which they can secure the opportunity of pleading their own cause.

It is not surprising that the governments of Europe, especially those whose subjects were carrying on an extensive trade with China, should desire to have things on a different footing. A great many attempts, by the different European powers, have been made, one of which, as a specimen of others, we shall describe in the two following Chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ENGLISH EMBASSY.

INSTEAD of giving our readers a condensed view of the many attempts which have been made to open a regular diplomatic intercourse between China and the European powers, we shall take one of them as a specimen, and go into it somewhat in detail. We do this the more readily, because there is no more effectual mode of becoming acquainted with the most important particulars relating to the geography of the country, and the manners and customs of the people, than to follow minutely the history of one of these expeditions. This Chapter, therefore, might, perhaps, as well be entitled "The Interior," as to be named as it is. Its object is mainly to introduce the reader into the heart of the country.

Not far from fifty years ago, the British government determined to see what effect would be produced by a formal and imposing embassage, directly from the king of England, to the emperor *of China*. A very great degree of importance was attached to the enterprise, and much time

and attention were devoted to maturing the details of the plan. After much deliberation, Lord Macartney was appointed ambassador. His rank and his reputation were of the highest order; and he had enjoyed the most favorable opportunities for acquiring experience in diplomatic duties, and had been extensively acquainted with foreign nations, in various quarters of the globe. Sir George Staunton was appointed his majesty's secretary of the legation, by whom a full account of the whole expedition was published on their return. A ship of war, accompanied with other vessels, was to carry out the ambassador and his suite. Sir Erasmus Gower was appointed to the command of the squadron, and many young gentlemen of high rank and fortune applied for permission to accompany the expedition.

The ambassador's train alone amounted to about one hundred persons. There was the body-guard of the ambassador, under command of Major Benson; there were the physician, and the botanist, and the draughtsman, and the painter, and the astronomer, and botanic gardeners. Every thing was done which could be done, both to give to the embassy an imposing appearance in the eyes of the emperor when it should arrive, and also to facilitate the collecting of information of every kind, to gratify the curiosity of the British

nation, on their return. In fact, all Europe looked with interest for the results of the experiment.

A serious difficulty occurred, in respect to an interpreter. Of course they must have an interpreter. On account of the peculiar difficulties of the language, and the very little intercourse allowed with the natives of Canton, scarcely an Englishman could be found who was in any tolerable degree acquainted with the Chinese tongue.

Now, the Catholics, in order to prepare the missionaries, whom they had long been accustomed to send to China, for their work there, had founded, in France and Italy, seminaries for teaching the Chinese language; and Staunton, the secretary of the embassy, was sent off to visit these seminaries, to find, if possible, some one sufficiently acquainted with the language to answer their purpose. After several disappointments, he at length found, in a Chinese college at Naples, two natives of China, well acquainted, both with their own tongue and with the Italian and Latin, which languages Lord Macartney understood. These, after some difficulty, were induced to go back, with the secretary, to London, there to embark with the expedition.

The next subject which required the attention

of the expedition, was the selection of presents. These were provided in great numbers, and at great expense. Utility, rather than show, however, was chiefly consulted in the selection of them. The latest and most approved astronomical instruments, a splendid planetarium, specimens of the best British manufactures of every variety, and "all the late inventions for adding to the comforts and conveniences of social life," were procured. One of the largest ships of the East India Company was laden with the presents thus provided.

Thus far, we presume, the sympathies of the reader have been enlisted in favor of the enterprise; and his feelings have harmonized with those of the conductors of it in the arrangements they have made. We are sorry to say, that there must be now a little jar, if, as we hope is the case, the reader is controlled by Christian principle. In order to prepare the emperor of China for their approach, it was concluded to send on an announcement of the enterprise to him. This must, of course, be done through the Hong merchants, and the local authorities at Canton. The communication was intrusted to the highest officers of the East India Company then at Canton; and they were instructed to present it in so public a manner as to prevent the possibility of

its being kept from the knowledge of the emperor, even if the viceroy should be inclined to suppress it, as he had, in some former instances, done.

By examining a copy of the communication sent, the reader will perceive that it was not honest. The real object was, to establish a regular and permanent diplomatic intercourse with a country of silks and teas. They feared, however, that the open announcement of this wish would have alarmed the emperor, and thus have defeated their object: so they seem to have concluded to send this embassy on false pretences, such, however, as would be gratifying to the emperor's pride, in the hope that, if this should be successful, another and another might succeed, and the desired system grow up imperceptibly. Perhaps Christian honesty did not require them to state fully all that they hoped would grow out of such an enterprise; but, though they were not required to tell all that was true, they were certainly not justified in saying or pretending what was false, viz. that the great object of the expedition was to do suitable honors to the emperor's birthday. Their real object, too, in going round through the Yellow Sea to Pekin, instead of landing at Canton, and passing across the country, was to avoid entirely the old channel of communication through the Hong merchants, and the viceroy of Canton, and

also to lead the emperor to view the enterprise as a delegation from a government, and not to associate it with trading operations. These, their motives, they might not, perhaps, have been bound to reveal; but they might have been silent. They ought not to have pretended that the design of the long and hazardous voyage was the safe conveyance of the emperor's presents. In fact, there is such an air of waggery about the whole communication, that we can hardly believe but that, on finishing the composition, the noble ambassador and his honorable secretary must have exchanged a smile at their ingenious plan for practising upon the supposed simplicity of the emperor. The event showed, however, that they mistook their man. This case, as will appear in the sequel, seems to indicate that honesty is the best policy, even in diplomatic intercourse, though such a sentiment, we believe, is contrary to the general sense of those who ought to be able to judge.

The communication from Canton to the emperor was sent in the name of a high officer of the East India Company; and in it the writer stated, "that his most gracious sovereign, having heard that it had been expected that his subjects, settled at Canton, should have sent a deputation to the court of Pekin, in order to congratulate the emperor

on his entering into the eightieth year of his age, but that such deputation had not been immediately despatched, expressed great displeasure thereat; and, being desirous to cultivate the friendship of the emperor of China, and of improving the connection, intercourse, and good correspondence, between the courts of London and Pekin, and of increasing and extending the commerce between their respective subjects, had resolved to send his well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Lord Macartney, a nobleman of great virtue, wisdom, and ability, as his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to the emperor of China, to represent his person, and to express, in the strongest terms, the satisfaction he should feel, if this mark of his attention and regard should serve as a foundation to establish a perpetual harmony and alliance between them; and that the ambassador, with his attendants, should soon set out upon the voyage; and having several presents for the emperor, from his Britannic majesty, which, from their size, and nicety of mechanism, could not be conveyed through the interior of China, to so great a distance as from Canton to Pekin, without the risk of damage, he should proceed, directly, in one of his majesty's ships, properly accompanied, to the port of Tien Sing, approaching, in the first instance, as near

as possible to the residence of the emperor of China." The document concluded by "requesting the information thus given to be conveyed to the court of Pekin, trusting that the imperial orders would be issued for the proper reception of the king of Great Britain's ships, with his ambassador and suite, as soon as they should appear at Tien-Sing or the neighboring coasts."

At length all things were in readiness, and the ambassador and his train went across from London to Portsmouth, where the ships were lying, and set sail, early in the autumn of 1792. As the wind slowly wafted them down the British Channel, they felt that they were bidding farewell for a very long time, and some of them probably forever, to all which they had known and loved, in search of a region, which, though it was upon the same planet, was in almost every respect a new world.

After touching at several places on the way, and meeting with the usual variety of incidents and adventures, to which so large a company, on so long a voyage, must be liable, the squadron came to anchor at a small island off the coast of China, in order to have the opportunity of sending in to Canton. It has already been remarked that it was not their intention to stop at Canton

itself, because they wished to have the whole expedition kept as free as possible from any apparent connection with the trading establishments there, and also because they knew that the Chinese authorities there would probably be suspicious and jealous of the enterprise; and they wished, as much as possible, to keep out of their reach. The viceroy of Canton, the chief collector of the revenue there, and the Hong merchants themselves, had two reasons for not wishing well to any plans for a more direct and friendly intercourse between the English and Chinese governments. In the first place, it might be the means of opening new channels of trade in other parts of the empire, by which their lucrative monopoly would be destroyed; and, in the next place, in collecting the revenue, and in their other transactions with the English, they had gradually fallen into some oppressive practices, which they were naturally unwilling to have exposed. Hitherto, they had been themselves the only channel of intercourse with the emperor; and, consequently, they could always tell their own story, without fear of contradiction.

The ambassador, therefore, wished to have as little as possible to do with Canton; and yet, on several accounts, it was necessary to send there.

They had one or two Chinese, who had come

with them as passengers, and who wished to be landed there. One of the two interpreters, too, who had been engaged in Europe, found his courage failing him, now he was approaching the dominions of the emperor. He reflected that, if he should continue with the ambassador, and be discovered to be a Chinese, he would be liable to punishment, both for having left his native country without permission, and for having gone into the service of a foreigner. The other, however, though in exactly the same danger, concluded to run the hazard. "He considered himself," says Staunton, "as having entered into an engagement to accompany the embassy throughout, and was not to be deterred from what he once had undertaken by subsequent reflections upon the danger that might attend it. There was reason, indeed, to hope that the ambassador would be able to protect him, should it even be discovered that he had been born within the confines of the Chinese territory. He was a native of a part of Tartary annexed to China, and had not those features which denote a perfect Chinese origin; but his name having a signification in the language of that country, he changed it for one that bore the same meaning in English. He put on an English military uniform, and wore a sword and a cockade. He thought it right to

take those precautions for his safety; but he was prepared for any event that might take place, without being in the least disturbed about what it might be."

Another object in sending to Canton, was that the embassy might learn how the emperor had received the announcement of their intended visit, and what arrangements, if any, had been made for their reception. They found abundant evidence that the emperor was gratified with their design, and that he had done every thing to facilitate the execution of it. He had made arrangements for giving the embassy a reception in every way suitable to its dignity. He had sent repeated instructions on the subject to the local authorities all along the coast, and given orders for mandarins* to await the ambassador's arrival, and for pilots to be stationed at proper places, to take charge of the ships, and to conduct them, in safety, to the great seaport nearest to Pekin, where they were to land.

It was curious to observe the eager interest with which the Chinese authorities at Canton endeavored to pry into the plans of the embassy, and to have something to do with carrying it

* The Portuguese gave this name to Chinese officers, *from "mandar,"* to command.

forward; and, as their assistance and confidence were exactly what the embassy did not want, they were often not a little embarrassed in declining, with proper civility, their offered assistance. The governor of Canton was satisfied that there must have been some private design in the enterprise, and was very eager to learn what it was. He solemnly assured them, that, "if they would let him know what it was, he would confine the matter within his own breast, and that of the emperor." This proposal was, of course, not complied with. The commissioners, to whom the governor made this application (for the ambassador himself had remained with the ships off the coast while they sent up to Canton), very politely, though how honestly we cannot tell, replied that "they were ignorant of any views besides those which they had avowed, of paying a just compliment to his imperial majesty, and of cultivating his friendship; but that, if there were any other, they were undoubtedly confided to the ambassador alone."

The commissioners, too, were repeatedly urged, by these officers, to write to the ambassador to come to Canton himself, and land there, where all foreign vessels were accustomed to land, instead of sailing on, one or two thousand miles, to Pekin. They even proposed sending out a vessel

expressly for the purpose of finding the ambassador, and urging this point. They were told, however, that it would be utterly unavailing.

The viceroy of Canton applied also for a list of the presents which were coming for the emperor. He said he wanted to send the list to Pekin; and he even, at first, refused to send the letter announcing the ambassador's approach, unless he could also transmit all the particulars. The English, however, on this point, as on all the others, gave him but little satisfaction.

One more plan was attempted. The governor appointed two Chinese merchants of Canton to go out and join the embassy, and to go with them to act as interpreters, &c. This, too, was aid which the embassy preferred to dispense with, as they had no desire to have all their intercourse with the emperor under the supervision of agents of the Canton authorities.

These various proposals were, however, at length overruled, and the brigs which had been sent to Canton, returned to the ambassador; and the whole expedition then sailed towards the north. By looking upon the map of China, the reader will find, near the coast, about midway between Canton and Pekin, a small island, whose Chinese name is variously represented in English by Tchoo san, Shusan, Chusan, &c. Up to the

time of this expedition, this island had almost been the northern limit of European navigation in this part of the world; and here it consequently became necessary to put in, in order to procure pilots, who might be able to conduct the squadron through the Yellow Sea.

Shusan is in the midst of an archipelago of little islands, among which, through the narrow channels which separated them, the vessels of the squadron had to thread their way. They soon came to anchor, not, however, before their arrival had attracted great attention, and drawn together great multitudes of gazers. It was here, it must be remembered, that the squadron first entered upon the Chinese territories. "At the sight of the large ships," says one of the historians of the voyage, "a vast number of boats, issuing from every creek and cove, presently crowded together, in such a manner, and with so little management, as to render it difficult to pass through without danger of oversetting or sinking some of them—a danger, however, to which they seemed quite insensible. Vessels of a larger description, and various in the shape of their hulls and rigging, from twenty tons burden, and upwards, to about two hundred tons, were observed in considerable numbers, sailing along the coast of the continent, laden generally with small timber, which was

piled to such a height upon their decks, that no extraordinary force of wind would seem to be required to overturn them. Beams of wood, and other pieces that were too long to be received upon the deck of a single ship, were laid across the decks of two vessels, lashed together. We saw, at least, a hundred couple thus laden, in one fleet, keeping close in with the coast, in order to be ready, in case of bad weather, to put into the nearest port, being ill calculated to resist a storm at sea. The ships, indeed, that are destined for longer voyages, appear, from their singular construction, to be very unfit to contend with the tempestuous seas of China. The general form of the hull, or body of the ship, above water, is that of the moon, when about four days old. The bow, or forepart, is not rounded, as in ships of Europe, but is a square, flat surface, the same as the stern, without any projecting piece of wood usually known by the name of *cut-water*, and without any keel. On each side of the bow, a large circular eye is painted, in imitation, I suppose, of that of a fish. The two ends of the ship rise to a prodigious height above the deck. Some carry two, some three, and others four masts. Each of these consists of a single piece of wood, and are, consequently, not capable of being occasionally reduced in length, as those of European

ships. The diameter of the mainmast of one of the larger kind of Chinese vessels, such as trade at Batavia, is not less than that of an English man-of-war of sixty-four guns; and it is fixed in a bed of massive timber, laid across the deck. On each mast is a single sail of matting, made from the fibres of the bamboo, and stretched, by means of poles of that reed, running across, at the distance of about two feet from each other. These sails are frequently made to furl and unfurl, like a fan. When well hoisted up, and braced almost fore and aft, or parallel with the sides of the ship, a Chinese vessel will sail within three and a half or four points of the wind; but they lose all this advantage over ships of Europe by their drifting to leeward, in consequence of the round and clumsy shape of the bottom, and their want of keel. The rudder is so placed, in a large opening of the stern, that it can occasionally be taken up, which is generally done in approaching sands and shallows.

"The Chinese, in fact, are equally unskilled in naval architecture as in the art of navigation. They keep no reckoning at sea, nor possess the least idea of drawing imaginary lines upon the surface of the globe, by the help of which the position of any particular spot may be assigned: in other words, they have no means, whatsoever,

of ascertaining the latitude or the longitude of any place, either by estimation from the distance sailed, or by observation of the heavenly bodies, with instruments for the purpose. Yet they pretend to say, that many of their early navigators made long voyages, in which they were guided by charts of the route, sometimes drawn on paper, and sometimes on the convex surface of large gourds, or pumpkins. From this circumstance, some of the Jesuits have inferred that such charts must have been more correct than those on flat surfaces. If, indeed, the portion of the convex surface, employed for the purpose, was the segment of a sphere, and occupied a space having a comparative relation to that part of the surface of the earth sailed over, the inference might be allowable; but this would be to suppose a degree of knowledge, to which it does not appear the Chinese had at any time attained, it being among them, in every period of their history, an universally-received opinion, that the earth is a square, and that the kingdom of China is placed in the very centre of its flat surface."

At length, it was found desirable for the squadron to stop, and to send forward one brig only—the Clarence—to the island of Shusan, to procure the pilots. This brig, on her arrival before the town, anchored in a spacious basin, formed by

several islands; and some mandarins came on board. They said that the governor was absent, but that he would return in the course of the day, and would be happy to receive them on the following morning.

"Accordingly," says Mr. Barrow, "at an early hour in the morning, the gentlemen of the embassy, who had been sent on this business, went on shore, and were received by the governor, with great politeness and abundant ceremony, in his hall of public audience, which, as a building, had little to attract our notice. The usual minute inquiries being gone through,—which, it seems, Chinese good-breeding cannot dispense with, such as the health of his visitors, of their parents and relations, and particularly the name and age of each person,—the object of our visit was explained to him, and, at the same time, a hope expressed that there would be no delay in getting the pilots on board. The old gentleman appeared to be much surprised at such violent haste, and talked of plays, feasts, and entertainments, that he meant to give us. Pilots, however, he said, were ready to take charge of the ships, and to carry them along the coast to the next province, where others would be found to conduct them still farther. On being told that such a mode of navigation was utterly impracticable for the large English

ships, and that such pilots would be of no use to us, he begged to be allowed the remainder of the day to inquire for others. We little expected to have met with any difficulties, with regard to pilots, in one of the best and most frequented ports of China, where, at that time, several hundred vessels were lying at anchor. The remainder of the day was spent in a visit to the city of Ting-hai; but the crowd became so numerous, and the day was so excessively hot, that, before we had passed the length of a street, we were glad to take refuge in a temple, where the priests very civilly entertained us with tea, fruit, and cakes. The officer who attended us advised us to return in sedan chairs—an offer which we accepted; but the bearers were stopped every moment by the crowd, in order that every one might satisfy his curiosity, by thrusting his head in at the window, and exclaiming, with a grin, *Hung-mau!* (*Englishman*, or, literally, *Red-pate!*) Rather disappointed than gratified, we were glad, after a fatiguing day, to throw ourselves into our cots, on board the Clarence.

"When we went on shore the following morning, we found the military governor, attended by a civil magistrate, by whom, after the usual compliments, we were addressed in a long oration, delivered, apparently, with a great deal of solem-

nity, the intention of which was, to convince us, that, as it had been the practice of the Chinese, for time immemorial, to navigate from port to port, experience had taught them it was the best. Finding, however, that his eloquence could not prevail on his hearers to relinquish their own opinions on the subject, the governor and he consulted together for some time, and at length resolved that a general muster should be made of all the persons in that place, who had at any time visited by sea *Tien-sing*, the port of destination.

"A number of soldiers were accordingly despatched, and soon returned with a set of the most miserable-looking wretches I ever beheld, who were thrust into the hall, and, dropping on their knees, were examined, in that attitude, as to their qualifications. Some, it appeared, had been at the port, but were no seamen; others followed the profession, but had never been at the port; and several were hauled in, who had never set a foot on board a vessel of any description whatsoever. In short, the greater part of the day was consumed to no purpose; and we were about to conclude that we had a great chance of leaving this central and much-frequented harbor without being able to procure a single pilot, when two men were brought in, who seemed to answer

the purpose better than any who had yet been examined. It appeared, however, that they had quitted the sea for many years, and, being comfortably settled in trade, had no desire to engage in the present service; on the contrary, they begged, on their knees, that they might be excused from such an undertaking. Their supplications were of no avail. The emperor's orders must be obeyed. In vain did they plead the ruin of their business by their absence, and the distress it would occasion to their wives, their children, and their families. The governor was inexorable; and they were ordered to be ready to embark in the course of an hour."

The poor pilots, thus forced to a service which they had no desire to enter, seem to have performed their duties according to the best of their abilities, though, on their arrival on board the ships, they were too much awed by the novelty of the strange scene to which they were ushered, to take any very decided part in the guidance of the squadron. One of them brought with him his little mariner's compass, made after the Chinese fashion, which was very different from the European: the other had forgotten his. The ambassador was, however, under the necessity of making the best of his facilities, such as they were, for finding a safe way through these un-

known seas; and, accordingly, under the guidance of a singular mixture of Chinese and European navigation, the squadron worked its way to the northward, and then to the westward, among the low islands and the muddy shoals of the Yellow Sea.

As they were now rapidly approaching the termination of their voyage, as might have been supposed, the ambassador began to turn his attention to the scenes which were before them on the shore. He was, of course, very anxious to guard against every danger which might threaten to interfere with the success of the enterprise; and, among his other precautions, a short time before they arrived at the place of their destination, he sent a communication to every ship, to be read to the passengers and crew; the object of which was, to urge upon them the importance of guarding, with the greatest care, their own deportment, when they should reach the shore, and to make known to them certain regulations, to which they were expected to conform, while the expedition should remain in the Chinese territory. They were required to observe the greatest caution and mildness in the treatment of every individual in the country, with whom they should have any intercourse. He said he should faithfully report at home the good or ill conduct of the members

of the expedition, and should punish with severity any cases of irregularity which might occur; or, if any offence should be committed, which should render the guilty person amenable to the severity of the Chinese law, he should not feel under any obligation to interfere, in any way, to arrest the consequences. He required that the military guard should be kept constantly together, and be regularly exercised; and none were to be absent from the ship, or from their quarters on shore, without permission. The same regulation was adopted with reference to the crews; and even the gentlemen connected with the expedition were required to submit to the same restraint, though the ambassador's commands to them were signified in a little less authoritative manner. "His excellency expects," said the document, "that the gentlemen in his train will show the example of subordination, by communicating their wishes to him before they go from the ship, or their usual habitation ashore."

Every person connected with the embassy was strictly forbidden "to offer for sale, or to propose to purchase, the smallest article of merchandise, of any kind, under any pretence whatever." So anxious were they to avoid all appearance of a trading or trafficking spirit, which might alarm the Chinese.

It began to be evident, from the increasing shallowness and muddiness of the water, the farther they advanced, that it would be necessary for the squadron to come to anchor before entering the river Peiho, on one of the branches of which the city of Pekin was situated. The Lion, the man-of-war which conveyed the ambassador, was the principal ship of the squadron, and required much more water than they were likely to find in approaching the shore. They sent on a small vessel, the Jackal, when they were some hundreds of miles from the mouth of the river, to explore the entrance, and to bring back a report; and the remaining vessels of the squadron followed cautiously on, heaving the lead continually, the smaller ones keeping carefully in advance of the rest. These advance vessels often made the signal of danger as they approached some muddy shoal, or low island, when the Lion would change her course, in search of deeper water. They worked on, in this way, several days, till, at last, the water became so shoal, that they did not dare to proceed any farther; and, on the twenty-fifth of July, about midnight, the command was given to let go the anchor; and the majestic ship swung round to her place, at the termination of her voyage. Nearly a year had elapsed since they left the harbor in England.

The next morning, they looked eagerly for land; but, though they were only twelve or fifteen miles from the shore, the land was so low, that it was not visible from the deck of the ship, though they could plainly discern the tops of trees and buildings. Here they were to wait for the return of the Jackal, which had been sent on, a few days before, to explore the entrance to the river. The next day, she appeared returning from the westward, surrounded by an immense number of Chinese vessels, flocking after her from every direction. This vessel reported that the mud and sand brought down by this river was deposited in great shoals at its mouth, over which the water was not more than ten feet deep at high tide. They had ascertained, too, that the city Tien-sing, the port of Pekin, and, in fact, the great naval emporium of this part of the Chinese empire, the city where they were finally to land, was sixty miles in the interior, following the circuitous course of the stream. The Jackal had spent a night in the river, and, by announcing the approach of the embassy, had awakened universal interest and curiosity throughout all the region.

The most interesting circumstance connected with the return of the Jackal was, that there accompanied her, among the multitudes of Chi-

nese, whose junks flocked around her, two officers of high rank, one civil, the other military, who had been stationed on the coast, to await the arrival of the ambassador, and to take the charge of conveying him and his retinue to the presence of the emperor. They were accompanied by a large train of attendants, who seemed to look up to them with the most profound respect. When they approached the ship,—one of a size and a martial appearance which they had never seen before,—they seemed not a little impressed by it. They shrunk from climbing up her lofty sides, from their boat, in the ordinary way; and, to relieve them of the embarrassment, chairs were let down, by means of a tackle, and they were drawn up to the deck, and thence ushered into the ambassador's splendid cabin.

The interpreter, brought from Naples, and disguised as we have before shown, was the medium of communication between the ambassador and his guests, or, perhaps, we might say, between the officers and *their* guest; for Lord Macartney was, perhaps, from this time, rather to be considered as enjoying the hospitality of the emperor.*

* It may be interesting to persons who may feel any curiosity in respect to the Chinese language, to state, that two individuals connected with the expedition had en

These Chinese officers told the ambassador "that they were appointed to attend him to the imperial court, and they were disposed to do all in their power, in obedience to the commands of their sovereign, to render the journey safe and pleasant to him." These professions were made with the appearance of honesty; and the subsequent conduct of these mandarins showed that they were sincere.

These mandarins, however, like those at Canton, found it difficult to control their curiosity to learn all the details respecting the embassy, and especially to know something about the presents. They insisted on a catalogue of them;

---

deavored to learn the language on their passage, by means of the instructions of the Chinese passengers. One was a youth, the other of mature age. When they came to hear the language spoken, the latter found it was almost entirely unintelligible, while the former succeeded very well, both in understanding and speaking it, so as to make quite a good interpreter. Whether this difference was owing to any superiority of the quickness of youth over the steady perseverance of age, or to other accidental causes, we cannot say. It is, at all events, some encouragement to the traveller, to know that it is possible, in any case, to acquire such a knowledge of the language, as to speak and understand it, after a year's study, with a single teacher. The voyage occupied rather less than a year.

and, though such applications had been made before, by every mandarin with whom they had had any communication, and always declined, they concluded to yield in this case; and they gave them a sort of description of the collection of presents, with a specification of some of the more important ones.

The object of the whole expedition being to open an intercourse with China, it became very important to have every thing connected with it bear on this point; and all the arrangements were made with reference to impressing the Chinese government with a sense of the greatness of the British empire, and the high degree of advancement which civilization, and refinement, and the arts, had, in that country, attained. One of the greatest obstacles to such a commercial connection as was desired, was the vanity of the Chinese, who considered their own country as the world, and looked upon all foreigners as the scattered inhabitants of remote and semibarbarous lands. The celestial empire could not come down near enough to a level with France and England to make a commercial treaty with them. One great object of this embassy, then, was, to convince the Chinese, if possible, that it would not be so great a descent, after all; and we may very safely conclude, that the selection of presents was regulated

quite as much by a wish, on the part of the donors, to elevate themselves in the estimation of their new friends, as to be useful to them. But we will let them tell their own story :—

"The king of Great Britain," said the document, written in the Chinese character, and handed to the two mandarins on board the ambassador's ship, "willing to manifest his high esteem and veneration for his imperial majesty of China, by sending an embassy to him, at such a distance, and by choosing an ambassador among the most distinguished characters of the British dominions, wished, also, that whatever presents he should send might be worthy of such a wise and discerning monarch. Neither their quality nor their cost could be of any consideration before the imperial throne, abounding with wealth and treasures of every kind. Nor would it be becoming to offer trifles of momentary curiosity, but little use. His Britannic majesty had been, therefore, careful to select only such articles as might denote the progress of science and of the arts in Europe, and which might convey some kind of information to the exalted mind of his imperial majesty, or such other articles as might be practically used. The intent and spirit accompanying presents, not the presents themselves, are chiefly of value between sovereigns."

Some of the articles were described in the following manner :—

"The first and principal consists of many parts, which may be used distinctly, or be connected together, and represents the universe, of which the earth is but a small portion. This work is the utmost effort of astronomical science and mechanic art, combined together, that was ever made in Europe. It shows and imitates, with great clearness and mathematical exactness, the several motions of the earth, according to the system of European astronomers; likewise the eccentric or irregular motions of the moon around it; and of the sun, with the planets which surround it, as well as the particular system of the planet, called by Europeans Jupiter, which has four moons constantly moving about it, as well as belts upon its surface; and also of the planet Saturn, with its ring and moons, together with the eclipses, conjunctions, and oppositions, of the heavenly bodies. Another part indicates the month, the week, the day, the hour, and minute, at the time of inspection. The machine is as simple in its construction as it is complicated and wonderful in its effects; nor does any so perfect remain behind in Europe. It is calculated for above a thousand years, and will be long a

monument of the respect in which the virtues of his imperial majesty are held in some of the remotest parts of the world.

"With this machine is immediately connected another, of a curious and useful construction, for observing, farther and better than had formerly been done, distant and minute bodies in the heavens, as they really move in the great expanse; the result of such observations demonstrating the exactness with which those motions are imitated in the machine already described. These observations are made, not by looking directly at the object, as in common telescopes, in which the powers of sight are more limited, but by perceiving sideways the reflection of such objects upon mirrors, according to a method invented by a great philosopher called Newton, and improved by an excellent astronomer, called Herschel; and who both have made such discoveries in science as to deserve that their names should reach to his imperial majesty of China. The powers of vision, in particular, have been extended, by their means, beyond all former hopes and calculations.

"As astronomy is not only essentially useful towards the perfection of geography and navigation, but, from the greatness of its objects, elevates

the mind, and thus is worthy the contemplations of sovereigns, and has, accordingly, attracted the notice of his imperial majesty, who has encouraged the cultivation of that science,—an useful instrument is added for that purpose, as it may serve to explain and reconcile the real motion of the earth with the apparent motion of the sun and other celestial bodies.

"Another article consists of a globe, representing the heavenly firmament, the ground, or general color, being azure, imitative of the sky; on which ground all the fixed stars are placed in their precise relative positions. The stars are made of gold and silver, in different tints, and of different magnitudes, according to the proportional size of which they appear as viewed from the earth; together with silver lines for the different divisions which distinguish the different parts of the firmament.

"Corresponding with this celestial globe is one representing the different continents of the earth, with its seas and islands; distinguishing the possessions of the different sovereigns, capital cities, and great chains of mountains. It is executed with peculiar care, and comprehends all the discoveries in the different parts of the world, made in the voyages undertaken for that purpose by order of his Britannic majesty, together with

the routes of the different ships sent on those expeditions.

"Several packages contain instruments for ascertaining time, with all the improvements and elegance of modern inventions. One of these points out the periods of the new and full, and other phases or changes of the moon. The other indicates the state of the air, and foretells the impending changes of the atmosphere. A machine is added for removing air, in order to make, in the vacant space, several curious and extraordinary experiments, which prove the importance of the atmosphere to animal life, and its effects on the motion of inanimate substances.

"Likewise a machine, pointing out the different means, or methods, called by Europeans the mechanical powers, which assist the natural strength of man or beast; with contrivances for the exemplification of those powers, applied to the assistance and comforts of infirmity or age.

"The next articles consist of several pieces of brass ordnance, used in battles, and howitzer mortars, which are instruments of annoyance, from whence combustible matter is thrown into the towns or fortresses of an enemy. Such instruments were thought likely to be interesting to so great a warrior and conqueror as his imperial majesty. To these are added other military

weapons, such as muskets, pistols, and sword-blades, for cutting through iron without losing their edge.

"His Britannic majesty, who is acknowledged by the rest of Europe to be the first maritime power, and is truly sovereign of the seas, wished, as a particular mark of his attention to his imperial majesty, to send some of his larger ships with the present embassy. He was, however, obliged to fix on vessels of less considerable size, on account of the shallows and sands of the Yellow Sea, little known to European navigators; but he has sent a complete model of the largest British ship of war, mounting one hundred and ten cannon, of considerable caliber. This model shows even the minutest part of such a stupendous structure.

"Specimens are sent, likewise, of the modes in which the best British artists work, and render valuable, the clayey and stony substances found in their own country. Among those specimens are useful and ornamental vases; some imitative of antiquities, and some in the best modern taste.

"Several of these articles owe much of their hardness and beauty to the operation of common or terrestrial fire; but a degree of heat, vastly more intense, as well as more sudden and astonishing in its effects, is collected immediately from

the sun, by means of an instrument which next follows among the presents. It consists, chiefly of two transparent bodies of glass, one of a prodigious size for such a material, and wrought by nice and persevering art into such a form, and so placed and directed, as not only to kindle into flame matters easily combustible, when exposed at a particular distance before it, but also to soften or reduce at once into a powder, or a fluid, the hardest stones, or most refractory metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, or even the new-discovered substance, called platina, or white gold; which platina is more difficult of fusion in a common fire, or furnace, than any of the metals formerly known in nature. The principal parts of this machine, being as brittle, in their composition, as it is powerful, violent, and instantaneous, in its operations, are so difficult to be procured without defect, and so liable to be broken during the attempts of the artist to bring them to perfection, that they are very rarely obtained of a considerable size; and one of the masses of glass now presented is much the largest and most complete that was ever made in Europe.

"In separate cases are packed up the different parts of two magnificent lustres, or frames of glass, with gold, for containing lights to illuminate the great apartments of a palace; such lustres

varying in their form and effect, according to the disposition of the innumerable pieces which compose them. In these are placed circular lamps, which diffuse, by a method lately discovered, a much grander and more vivid light than art had been enabled to produce before.

"Several other packages are added, consisting of a great number of the productions and manufactures of Great Britain, particularly in wool and cotton, as well as in steel and other metals. In such a variety, there is a chance that some may be found acceptable for their use, their curiosity, or as objects of comparison with a few of the great manufactures of his imperial majesty's dominions.

"To the specimens of such articles as were capable of transportation, are added several representations, taken from nature, of cities, towns, churches, seats, gardens, castles, bridges, lakes, volcanoes, and antiquities; likewise of battles by sea and land, dock-yards, or places for building ships, horse-races, bull-fighting, and of most other objects curious or remarkable in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and other parts of Europe; also of several of the most eminent persons, including the royal family of Great Britain; the representations themselves being monuments of the arts by which they are made, in their present advanced state."

The British government undoubtedly supposed that these things would tend, of course, to humble the Chinese a little, by forcing upon them a comparison of the highest efforts of science and art in their own country. But vanity and self-conceit,—how hard it is to cure them! The chief impression which seemed to be made was, a sense of their own transcendent glory and excellence, the fame of which could spread so far, and a pride in having such a nation as the English among their remote inferiors and tributaries!

As the ambassador and his train were now to leave the squadron, to be some time, probably some months, upon the shore, he drew up written instructions to the commander of it, to improve the time during his absence in visiting several important places in those seas, with the design of opening, if possible, commercial negotiations with them. He gave directions in respect to the manner in which he should conduct his negotiations, and gave him letters to the chiefs of the places specified. The ships were to perform these voyages, and then repair to Canton in the following May, the ambassador and his train expecting to go across the country by land.

All things were now ready for the ambassador to leave the ship; and there must have been an intense interest excited by the circumstances of the parting scene. The ambassador and his

train had taken their places in large and handsome junks: the baggage and the presents, too, had been transferred to the Chinese vessels, thirty or forty in number, which had been prepared for them. The sea was covered with boats and vessels of every size, filled with interested spectators, and in the centre towered the majestic frigate, with her tiers of guns, one above another, projecting from the dark port-holes, in readiness for the parting salute. The word of command is given to man the yards, when hundreds and hundreds of sailors, in a neat white dress, run up the shrouds, and fill the tops, and stretch out upon the yards, until the towering mass of spars and rigging teems with life and activity. 'Tis but a moment, however, and then all is still. Every voice is hushed, and every motion ceases; and there is a pause, during which a deep and solemn silence reigns, far and wide, on every crowded deck, and top, and shroud, which fill the view. 'Tis but a moment, when the bright flashes burst forth, one after another, from the sides of the frigate, followed by the thunder of the cannon, which rolls over the water, and comes back to the ear in a loud and long-continued roar; and then the hundreds of sailors, extending in long rows upon the lofty yards, fill the air with their cheers, waving their hats, and shouting, with measured *regularity*, their three times three. It

was a man-of-war's farewell; and, when the sounds died away upon the ear, the fleet of native vessels were slowly wafted towards the shore.

As they entered the mouth of the river, they found it filled with boats and junks in immense numbers, which were waiting their arrival. The land on each side was low and level, but richly cultivated; and here and there, villages were scattered, giving life and interest to the scene. The sea-boats which had brought them from the anchoring-place of the Lion, were not suitable for going up the river; and the whole party were transferred to a fleet of river craft,—yachts,—resembling in general form, the canal-boats used in our country.*

* The following is the air sung by the boatmen on the river:—

AIR.

But we will give the description of their passage up the river in their own words :—

"No slight magnificence was displayed, and no expense seemed to be spared, in the treatment of the embassy, either as to the number of mandarins who were appointed to accompany it, and whose salaries were increased upon this particular service; the crowd of inferior Chinese, who were engaged to attend upon the occasion; the many vessels employed in conveying the whole; the parade of reception wherever the yachts stopped; and the occasional shows and decorations as they passed along, the cost of all which, together with that of the supplies of every kind which could be wanted, the emperor chose, should be entirely borne by himself; upon this great idea, that the whole empire was as his private property and dwelling, in which it would be a failure of hospitality to suffer a visitor—for as such an ambassador is always considered by the Chinese—to be at the least charge for himself, or for his train, while he continued there. His imperial majesty's orders, on this subject, were very strictly obeyed. A gentleman who accompanied the ambassador, and who wished to purchase some trifling articles of dress, was immediately supplied; but the mandarin who had been employed to buy them, declared he dared not accept the price from him for

whose use they were destined, but charged the same to the emperor's account. The imperial mandates, on all occasions, seem to be received with a degree of awe, and to be executed with a punctuality, which imply that they are seldom known to be infringed without a punishment adequate to the offence. The authority of government is delegated, on particular occasions, to superior mandarins; an instance of which occurred in the dismissal of a subordinate officer, attending upon the embassy, by the chief conductors of it, for no very violent transgression.

"Every arrangement being completed for the embassy's proceeding up the river, and his excellency's orders having been taken upon the subject, the signal was made for sailing on the morning of the ninth of August. To the vessels already mentioned were added such others as were to carry the mandarins of various ranks, and other Chinese, appointed to attend the embassy, in number, at least, equal to that of the Europeans who composed it. No guns are fired in China, by way of signal; but circular rimmed plates of copper, condensed by much hammering, and mixed with tin or zinc, to render it more sonorous, are struck with wooden mallets, and emit a noise almost deafening to those who are near it, and which is heard to a considerable distance. The

instrument, which the Chinese call *loo*, and the Europeans, in China, *gong*, from the name it bears in other parts of the East, is generally used upon the water. In like manner, two pieces of wood struck against each other, and producing a sound like that of a great rattle, serve, ashore, to give notice from authority, on most occasions, especially among the troops. Drums do not seem to be used in the army; but they form a part of religious music in the temples.

"Almost every vessel connected with the embassy had on board both Europeans and Chinese. From a mixture of people, whose habits, wants, and language, were so new to each other, much confusion might be expected to arise. It was avoided by caution and method. The mandarins were, on every occasion, attentive to the accommodation of the passengers. Even the Chinese soldiers and sailors displayed a gentleness of deportment, and a willingness to oblige, distinguishable from the mere execution of a duty, and which showed that the present soldiers, at least, were not unwelcome. These strangers were, indeed, announced as coming from afar, to pay a compliment to their sovereign; and the lowest of the Chinese were not so depressed as to be insensible of some national gratification on that account.

"The approach of the embassy was an event of which the report spread rapidly among the neighboring towns and villages. Several of these were visible from the barges upon the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass, while the females, as shy as they were curious, looked through gates, or peeped over walls, to enjoy the sight. A few, indeed, of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river, in order to get a nearer peep; but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the back-ground. The strangers, on their part, were continually amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented, in almost every instance, something different from what offers to the view elsewhere; and a general sentiment prevailed among the strangers, that it was well worth while to have travelled to such a distance to behold a country which promised to be interesting in every respect.

"The direct progress of the embassy upon the river was very slow, its course being remarkably serpentine. The route was therefore considerably lengthened; and the wind, which upon one stretch was favorable, became adverse upon the other. The banks of the river were higher

than the adjacent plains. Those plains extended as far as the eye could reach; and the windings of the river through them made the masts of the vessels sailing on it appear, throughout the country, as if moving over the fields in every direction, while the water lay concealed.

"The fields exhibited a high state of cultivation, and were generally covered with the *holcus sorghum*, or tallest of the vegetables producing esculent grain, commonly called, in English, *Barbadoes millet*. It grows to ten or twelve feet high; and the lowest calculation of its increase was a hundred fold.

"As soon as night came on, the banks were illuminated with variegated lights, from lanterns, whose transparent sides were made of different colored paper, some white, some stained with blue, and others red. The different numbers of lanterns hoisted on the masts' heads of the various vessels in the river, denoted the rank of the passengers they held; all which, together with the lights from the cabins of the junks, reflecting from the water, produced a moving and parti-colored illumination—a species of magnificence much affected by the Chinese.

"In the course of travelling, the next day, a considerable enclosure was, for the first time, perceived, resembling a gentleman's park in

England. It was the residence of the *Ta-whang*, or chief of the district. His dwelling was distinguished by treble gates, and by two poles erected near them, each forty feet high, destined to bear ensigns of dignity, and, in the night, to carry lanterns for use and ornament. Within the enclosures were seen several buildings, a variety of trees, and several sheep and horses. Hitherto, very few cattle, of any kind, had been any where observed. Though the lands lay low, and fit to be converted into meadows, scarcely any were found in that state, or any lying fallow.

"On one side of the river was a large grove of high and wide-spreading pines, near and amongst which were discovered several monuments of stone, erected to the memory of persons buried underneath. No temple was in the neighborhood of this cemetery. However a view of the repositories of the dead may increase the disposition to seriousness and piety in buildings consecrated to public worship, considerations of health towards the living may have been thought sufficient, in China, to keep those places entirely separate.

"At length they came in sight of Tien-sing, the literal signification of which Chinese name is *heavenly spot*—an appellation which it claims as situate in a genial climate, a fertile soil, a dry

air, and a serene sky. It is the general emporium for the northern provinces of China, and is built at the confluence of two rivers, from which it rises in a gentle slope. The palace of the governor stands on a projecting point, from whence it commands the prospect of a broad basin, or expanse of water, produced by the union of the rivers, and which is almost covered with vessels of different sizes. Many of them never cross the shallow bar at the Pei-ho, but are employed in the internal trade, carried on by means of canals, as well as great rivers, throughout the empire.

"Across the rivers, where united at Tien-sing, was a bridge of boats, for the convenience of the people, but which occasionally separated, to let vessels pass between them. Along the quay were some temples and other handsome edifices; but the rest consisted chiefly of shops for the retail of goods, and also warehouses, together with yards and magazines for maritime stores. The private houses presented little more than dead walls in front, the light only coming to them from interior courts. The spectators were mostly in the streets, and upon the vessels literally covering the water opposite the city. Few females were mixed with those spectators. The crowds, however, were immense, not only from the highest ground to the water's edge, but hundreds were

actually standing in the water, in order to approach nearer to the spectacle of the vessels which conveyed the strangers. As these could not be incommoded by the crowd, nothing like soldiers or constables interfered with the movements of the people. Yet, in all the ardor of curiosity, the people themselves preserved a great degree of decency and regularity in their demeanor. Not the least dispute seemed to take place among them; and, from a sense of mutual accommodation, none of the common Chinese, who usually wear straw hats, kept on theirs, while the procession of the embassy was passing, lest they should obstruct the view of the persons behind them, though their bare heads were thus exposed to a scorching sun. The gradual rise, on every side, from the water to the farthest extremity of the city, rendered the whole one great amphitheatre. It was literally lined with heads, one behind and a little above the other. Every face was seen; and the number appeared to surpass any former multitude observed in the country."

At length the embassy landed, and were received with much parade by a new officer, who is called in their narratives the *legate*. He was the mandarin specially appointed by the emperor, to receive the ambassador and his train at the

time of their landing in his dominions, and to conduct them to his presence. Of course, the duties of the two viceroys, who had been thus far in charge, now ceased. The ambassador and his train seem not to have liked the change; for the legate, as they call him, seems to have been a far more unmanageable guide than his predecessors. In fact, the emperor seems to have made his appointments with a great degree of wisdom, intending, as he did, to make the journey of his guests as agreeable as possible, without relaxing, in any degree, from that strict system which it had always been his policy to adopt. The legate treated his charge with great civility, but with the most scrupulous watchfulness; and, after various attempts to see how far they could go, they found that they must yield to the necessity of the case, and, while travelling in Chinese territories, comply with Chinese wishes. Yet they had a pleasant sail up the river, beyond this point; for, although they landed here for a short time, their route still lay along the river. They still sailed in their beautiful yachts; they still found the banks richly cultivated, and villages and landings every where crowded with curious spectators. Now and then, too, some of the party could ramble a little on the shore, though they soon found that this was not agreeable; and they

confined themselves to their boats. These boats were moved generally by the wind; but, when the wind failed, they were drawn, each by a set of about fifteen men, who walked upon the shore; and so long was the train of yachts, that it required about a thousand men, half drawing at a time, to accompany the expedition for this purpose. These men were provided by the emperor, and under the command of the legate. The scene must have been a singular one. A train of thirty or forty of these gayly-painted and gayly-decorated vessels, drawn by five hundred Chinese boatmen, in their gaudy dresses, and accompanied by as many more; the legate and his train, carried in their sedans along the shore; and the countless multitudes which poured out every where from the beautiful villages, and over the richly-cultivated fields, to gaze on the passing pageant,—must have presented to the European eyes the appearance of a gay and splendid vision.

The ambassador learned from the legate that the emperor was at Gehol. If the reader will look at any common map of China, he will see laid down upon it the famous wall, passing a little north of Pekin, from east to west. It is a vast structure, erected many centuries since, to defend China from her northern neighbors. It is, however, useless now; for Tartary and China form

one empire, and a Tartar dynasty is upon the throne. The wall is, accordingly, no longer a boundary, and the residences of the emperor are upon both sides. Gehol is a summer residence of the emperor beyond the wall, a few hundred miles north-east of Pekin.

The Europeans were pleased to hear that their journey was to be continued; for it would afford them an opportunity of seeing the wall—a structure which has been considered so great a curiosity, that Dr. Johnson said it would have been an honor to a man for his grandfather to have seen it. The arrangement was made as follows:—The whole party were to land finally at Tong-choo-foo, a city at the head of navigation, towards Pekin; thence they were to proceed, by land, *through* the great capital, to a famous summer residence of the emperor's, a few miles beyond the city—the Versailles of the celestial empire. Yuen-min-yuen was its name. Here a part of the company were to remain, while the ambassador and a small number of his attendants, taking with them a selection of the presents, were to proceed beyond the wall, to Ghehol, or Zhehol, or Gehol, as the name is variously written; for, in attempting to fix the sounds of Chinese words by the European alphabetic character, there are no fixed

principles to guide us; and every traveller and geographer suits himself.

This arrangement was, accordingly, carried into effect. On their landing at Tong-choo-foo, where their conveyance by water ceased, the means of transportation by land were provided by the mandarins under the direction of the legate. So large was the company, and so great the quantity of baggage, including the presents, that ninety small wagons, forty hand-carts or barrows, two hundred horses, and about three thousand men, were employed. The ambassador himself, and three gentlemen of his suite, travelled in sedan chairs, borne on the shoulders of four natives each. The other gentlemen were on horseback. A detachment of soldiers preceded the train, and cleared the way, which was thronged with eager spectators. The largest and heaviest boxes were carried by men, who attached bamboos to the sides; and to the ends of these, other shorter bamboos were fastened, in such a way that the strength of eight, or sixteen, or even a greater number of men, could be applied, as the weight might require. The long train was at length in readiness, and it slowly moved on over the broad and well-paved road which forms the great southern approach to Pekin. This magnificent avenue

conducted them, through a spacious suburb, to the gates of the city.

The city they found to be enclosed by a high wall, with towers at convenient intervals. It was, in form, an oblong square, and covered about twelve square miles, being at least four times as large in extent, within the walls, as the present city of New York: its suburbs, too, were very extensive. The following brief description, if attentively considered, will enable the reader to understand better the narrative of our travellers' passage through it.

It is surrounded by walls, with large square buildings at the corners, and towers at equal distances along the sides. On each side of the city are two great gateways, with large and lofty edifices erected over them for their defence. Four wide and straight streets lead from these gateways through the city. The train entered at the most southerly of the two eastern gates; and one of the travellers gives the following description of the scene which presented itself to their view, when they were fairly within the walls:—

"We had no sooner passed the gate, and opened out the broad street, than a very singular and novel appearance was exhibited. We saw before us a line of buildings, on each side of a wide street, consisting entirely of shops and warehouses,

the particular goods of which were brought out and displayed in groups in front of the houses. Before these were generally erected large wooden pillars, whose tops were much higher than the eves of the houses, bearing inscriptions in gilt characters, setting forth the nature of the wares to be sold, and the honest reputation of the seller; and, to attract the more notice, they were generally hung with various colored flags, and streamers, and ribands, from top to bottom, exhibiting the appearance of a line of shipping, dressed, as we sometimes see it, in the colors of all the different nations in Europe. The sides of the houses were not less brilliant in the several colors with which they were painted, consisting generally of sky-blue, or green, mixed with gold; and, what appeared to us singular enough, the articles for sale that made the greatest show, were coffins for the dead. The most splendid of our coffin furniture would make but a poor figure if placed beside that intended for a wealthy Chinese. Next to those, our notice was attracted by the brilliant appearance of the funeral biers and the marriage cars, both covered with ornamental canopies.

"At the four points where the great streets intersect one another, were erected those singular buildings, sometimes of stone, but generally of wood, which have been called *triumphal arches*,

but which, in fact, are monuments to the memory of those who had deserved well of the community, or who had attained an unusual longevity. They consist, invariably, of a large central gateway, with a smaller one on each side, all covered with narrow roofs, and, like the houses, painted, varnished, and gilt, in the most splendid manner.

"The multitude of movable workshops of tinkers and barbers, cobblers and blacksmiths; the tents and booths, where tea, and fruit, rice, and other eatables, were exposed for sale, with the wares and merchandise exposed before the doors, —had contracted the spacious street to a narrow road in the middle, just wide enough for two of our little vehicles to pass each other. The cavalcade of officers and soldiers that preceded the embassy; the processions of men in office, attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of strange insignia of their rank and station; different trains, that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpses to their graves, and, with discordant music, brides to their husbands; the troops of dromedaries, laden with coal from Tartary; the wheel-barrows and hand-carts, studded with vegetables,—occupied nearly the whole of this middle space, in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embassy to pass.

All was in motion. The sides of the street were filled with an immense concourse of people, buying, and selling, and bartering their different commodities. The confused noises of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of those who were crying their wares; the wrangling of others, with, every now and then, a strange twanging noise, like the jarring of a cracked Jew's-harp, which was the barber's signal, made by his tweezers; the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every group,—could scarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotunda, or by the Jews and old women in Rosemary-lane. Pedlers, with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors, comedians and musicians, left no space unoccupied. The Tartar soldiers, with their whips, kept with difficulty a clear passage for the embassy to move slowly forwards."

The street on which the embassy were advancing, which, the reader will recollect, was the southernmost of the great streets leading from east to west, did not pass directly through the city, but was interrupted, near the middle, by a large enclosure, extending up from the southern wall. This enclosure contained the palaces and grounds of the emperor, and was surrounded by a wall of bright, polished bricks, covered with a roof of

yellow tiles. The broad street, through which they were passing, came up to the wall, and then it turned to the right, and passed round on the northern side of the enclosure. In this direction they went round, escaping from the bustle and confusion through which, for a mile and a half, they had been passing; for the buildings in this part of the street were, as we might expect from their being in such immediate vicinity to the royal residence, dwelling-houses only, and those of men of rank and wealth. When they reached the middle of the enclosure, on the northern side, they stopped to look, through a great gateway there, into the magnificent interior.

The scene which was presented was gay and splendid beyond description. The space enclosed was about ten times as large as Boston common. The surface was diversified by hills and valleys, and the whole area was covered with gardens, palaces, temples, groves, lakes, and islands, and every species of artificial construction which could contribute to the beauty of the scene. The place was the residence of the court. Here were the palace of the emperor, all the tribunals and public offices of government, the mansions of the ministers and high officers of state. The artificers and trademen belonging to the court had also their dwellings here. There were high

eminences, on the summits of which were erected summer-houses, sheltered by lofty trees; and there were streams of water, and lakes, artificially constructed, with deeply-indented shores, and spotted with verdant islands, on which fantastic edifices were erected. The whole scene displayed the gay and brilliant coloring which Chinese taste always delights to present to the eye. It looked like enchantment.

But the legate seemed to have had no inclination to invite them to enter; and, after pausing some time to gaze at the scene, the train moved on. They crossed the second great street leading from north to south through the city, and at length reached the western gate, by which they were to make their exit from the city, *two hours* after having entered on the opposite side.

From the suburb around the gate, the long procession emerged into the open country beyond; and, after continuing their journey for several miles, they at last arrived at the villa or palace prepared for their reception. A royal residence, in China, is a garden, however, rather than a palace, containing many buildings of various forms and sizes; so that the whole attracts the eye rather as a gay and varied landscape, than as a front of imposing architecture. The grounds in this consisted of an enclosure of at least twelve

acres. It contained a garden laid out in serpentine walks, a rivulet winding round an island, groves of trees interspersed with grassy lawns, and diversified with artificial hills, valleys, and rocks. The buildings consisted of several separate pavilions, containing handsome apartments, the whole arranged with much taste, and producing a very pleasant effect.

This residence had been constructed expressly for the use of foreign embassies, during their stay; for the presence of such embassies from the neighboring provinces, sent to bring tribute, or to do homage, was very common. This palace had been appropriated to their use; and here, in a spacious hall, which formed a part of a cluster of buildings, decorated with all the gay embellishments so characteristic of Chinese architecture, was to be performed the ceremony of the reception. The approach was through three courts, surrounded with buildings; and the building was itself erected upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the ground. The roof projected, after the Chinese fashion, and was supported by rows of columns painted *red*, and varnished, and the capitals ornamented with various devices, in vivid coloring. A net of gilt wire, so fine as scarcely to be perceived, was spread over the whole entablature

of the building, to prevent birds from resting upon it. The interior was spacious and splendid; and on one side, the space between the pillars was constructed of panels which could be removed at pleasure, so as to throw the whole interior open, on that side, to the light and the air. The floor was paved with gray marble flag-stones, laid chequer-wise; and the ceiling was highly ornamented with various figures, in geometrical forms, and painted with gay colors. This splendid apartment was intended as the place of audience, where the emperor received in state the various foreign embassies which appeared at his court. Of course, it contained a throne. This throne was approached by flights of steps in front and at the sides. It was made of a beautiful species of wood, richly carved. It was from this seat that his majesty was to view his presents, when they should be arranged around the hall.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH EMBASSY—CONTINUED.

The reader will probably, by this time, begin to look for some indications, in respect to the probable success of this enterprise; for it is plain that we are now drawing towards the time when some such indications must appear. In fact, they did appear before this time. Evidences that the whole embassy was looked upon with some jealousy, by the Chinese authorities, had been observed pretty early, and were rather increasing. These officers could not believe that the real object of this expensive visit was the pretended one, viz. simply to do honor to the emperor on his birth-day. They could not suppose that any mere mercantile objects were in contemplation; for the embassy, in the first place, had studiously endeavored to keep all mercantile interests entirely out of view, as we have already seen; and, besides, in the opinion of the Chinese, any advantages of trade were not of sufficient value or importance to afford an inducement for undertaking so grand an enterprise. They were

afraid of something, they knew not exactly what—some political interference with the country, perhaps, or even military conquest. Their fears were increased—unfortunately for the embassy—by the tidings which reached them, about this time, of the principles and effects of the French revolution, than which nothing could be more abhorrent to the ideas of such a government as that of China. Some vague reports, too, of the operations of the English armies in India, especially upon the eastern frontier, where the dominions of the English and the Chinese monarchs approached very near to one another, excited still more the alarms and jealousies of the mandarins; and thus, while the ambassador and his suite were fondly hoping, upon their approach to the emperor's presence, that they were about to bring their embassy to a successful issue, the government itself was secretly resolving to receive them with perfect civility, but to resist all attempts at entering into any negotiations whatever, and to insist firmly on their immediate return.

Thus far, however, there had been no actual difficulty between the ambassador and the government; but, on their arrival at Yuen-min-yuen, the palace and gardens above described, a somewhat serious one arose. The ambassador was informed that he would be expected to prostrate

himself, in the hall of audience, before the empty throne, as an act of homage to the absent emperor. The ambassador did not object particularly to the nature of the ceremony, but he was entirely unwilling to do any thing which would favor the idea which the Chinese seemed quite inclined to adopt, that the English were an inferior nation, coming, by this embassy, to do homage and pay tribute to the emperor. He proposed, therefore, not to comply with this custom, except on the condition that a Chinese mandarin, of rank equal to his own, should perform the same ceremony before *a picture of the king of Great Britain*, which he had with him. This proposal it was necessary to make in writing; but great difficulty and delay were experienced, in finding a person willing to translate it into the Chinese, for fear of the displeasure of the government. Their own interpreter, though acquainted with the common colloquial language of China, could not, by any means, put such a state document into the proper form. After various efforts to surmount the difficulty, they at last accomplished their object in the following manner, which we detail particularly, that the reader may have some idea of the difficulties and embarrassments which obstructed the intercourse between the ambassador and the authorities to which he was sent.

1. The ambassador wrote his document in English.

2. This English copy was translated into Latin, so as to bring it within the reach of their interpreter, who had been brought from Italy, and did not understand English.

3. The interpreter translated it, verbally, into colloquial Chinese.

4. A Chinese writer was with great difficulty procured to write it in the Chinese character, on condition that it should be afterwards copied, and his handwriting not seen by the government.

5. A page, attached to the embassy, who had, on the voyage, learned to imitate the character, transcribed the written copy, which transcript was forwarded to the minister.

We have already said, that the emperor himself was at Gehol, a royal residence in Tartary, on the northern side of the Chinese wall; and to this place the ambassador was to proceed. His journey was commenced before he received any answer to his proposal in respect to the prostrations. A part of his train remained behind, for the purpose of superintending the unpacking and arranging of the presents. They resided, however, while the ambassador was gone, at Pekin, in a palace prepared for them there. The grounds about this palace were surrounded by a wall; and

within this enclosure, they were, in fact, prisoners. Their motions were all watched; they could have no free intercourse with the natives; and though they could go in and out with some freedom, yet they felt themselves almost as much under restraint as if they were prisoners of war.

Here, however, and at Yuen-min-yuen, they remained, while the ambassador, followed by a large train of Chinese attendants, and by most of his European suite, set out on his northern journey. The ambassador travelled in his carriage, which had been brought out with him in one of the ships. "It was probably the first time," says Staunton, "that an English post-chaise rolled upon the route to Tartary. The road stretched to the northward, across the extensive plain on which Pekin is built, and was shaded by vast willow-trees, planted along its sides. The country was highly cultivated. Sometimes the ambassador would take some of the mandarins into the carriage with him, their usual mode of travelling being in sedan chairs, carried by the natives. At first, they were somewhat startled, lest the carriage, which was hung high, and seemed to totter, should overturn; but, being assured of its perfect safety, they became inexpressibly delighted with its easiness, lightness, and rapidity, the ingenuity of the springs, and the

various contrivances for raising and lowering the glasses and curtains, and for increasing or diminishing, at pleasure, the opening of the Venetian blinds."

After travelling onwards about twenty miles, the land began to rise, and gradually grew more and more hilly; and at length mountains began to appear. On the fourth day, they saw, at a distance before them, what appeared to be a dark line extending across the country, and continuing over the summits of the mountains. It was the famous Chinese wall. When they reached it, they stopped to examine it minutely. We cannot, however, stop to give the minute and particular description of it, which they entered upon their journals.

On passing beyond the wall, they found themselves in a new country, and among a new people; for, although under one government, the people, the climate, the country, the customs, on the opposite sides of this wall, are all distinct. They were in the Switzerland of Asia. The autumnal air was cool. The roads were rugged; and oaks, elms, and stunted pines, clothed the sides of the mountains. At length they approached the city of their destination, where they were received by bodies of troops and vast crowds of spectators, and were conducted to a group of buildings,

pleasantly situated south of the city, which had been prepared for their reception. They looked down upon the crowded city which was spread out before them; and beyond it, covering all the hills and valleys for many miles, were the groves, and lawns, and palaces, of the emperor's summer retreat.

As might naturally have been expected, the ambassador felt a little solicitude to know what answer would be returned to his proposal, in respect to the prostration; for, until his arrival at Gehol, he had received no reply to the communication which had been prepared with so much care. Very soon after his arrival, however, the legate called upon him, and returned the communication, giving him to understand that he had not presented it to the emperor, such a proposal being so plainly inadmissible that its presentation could do no good. He wished to have the ambassador present himself, too, as soon as possible, not to the emperor,—for one of the arts of the Chinese government consists in keeping the emperor at as great a distance, and in as inaccessible a position as possible,—but to the grand vizier, who wished to know, particularly, what were the contents of the English monarch's letter. The ambassador supposed their plan was, to urge him on, through the ceremonies of an audience, so as

to obtain the prostration without replying to his proposal. He accordingly determined to take no further steps himself until this question should be distinctly settled. Under the plea of indisposition,—which, if it was real, was a very fortunate circumstance for his excellency,—he declined the visit to the vizier, and sent his secretary, with a copy of the English king's letter, and also the old memorial on the subject of the prostration, which the legate had returned.

We cannot stop to detail the negotiations which followed. It was not for some time, nor until rumors of the difficulty had spread among all the people around, producing not a little excitement, that the business was finally settled. It was agreed that the ambassador should be required only to perform, before the emperor, the same ceremony of respect which he was accustomed to render when he approached his own sovereign, viz. bending upon one knee.

This momentous affair being settled, the approaching audience of the emperor attracted universal interest and attention. In the mean time, —as several days intervened, and the ambassador found that any such access to the emperor as should enable him to produce personally any impression upon his mind in respect to a change of policy in his regulations of foreign intercourse,

was out of the question,—he endeavored to cultivate a good understanding with the vizier, in hopes of being able to influence the measures of the government through him. He did not, however, succeed. The great statesman could not see how any more extended a commerce would benefit the Chinese. The introduction of European goods would be of no advantage: the Chinese had always done very well without them, and did not feel the need of them now. "Cotton and rice might be brought from India," said the ambassador.—"But we have extensive districts in our own country adapted to the cultivation of those very articles," replied the vizier.—"We might pay for the articles we purchase, in silver."—"But we have silver enough now; an increase will only raise the prices of the articles in our own markets."—"We can help you subdue the pirates on your coasts," said the Englishman.—"It is not necessary, I thank you," replied the Tartar; "for, when the pirates trouble us, we can confine our commerce to our rivers and canals."

The reader need not be told that we do not give the language of the dialogue, but only its substantial results. The conversations were managed with great delicacy and politeness on both sides, and never assumed the form of debate. The ambassador was satisfied, however, that a Chinese

statesman could not be led to see, by any rhetoric which he could bring to bear upon the subject, that the central empire could stand in need of any thing which foreigners could supply. A limited and closely-watched commercial intercourse, as a mere matter of favor towards remote and dependent nations, would be allowed, as it was plain that other nations could not do without China; but any thing further than this, it was plainly his intention, firmly, though most politely, to decline.

These fruitless negotiations being ended, the ambassador seems to have made up his mind that nothing remained for him but to go properly through the great ceremonies of state which were connected with his interviews with the emperor, and then to return to England and report the failure of the design.

He was not yet, however, absolutely without hope; and he, of course, looked forward with much interest to the approaching interview with the aged monarch. The morning at length arrived;—the morning, for it is not one of the effects of advanced civilization and refinement, in China, to turn the night into day. They do, indeed, on these great occasions, as will be seen presently, encroach a little upon the hours of darkness; but it is from the other side, beginning early, not

continuing late. But let us present an account of the audience given to the embassy. It took place in the midst of the splendid landscape scenery of the emperor's pleasure-grounds, which we shall, hereafter, more particularly describe.

"On that morning, the ambassador and gentlemen of the embassy went, before daylight, as was announced to be proper, to the garden of the palace of Zhe-hol. In the middle of the garden was a spacious and magnificent tent, supported by gilded or painted and varnished pillars. The canvass of which it was composed did not follow the obliquity of the cords, along their whole length, to the pegs fastened in the ground, but, about midway, was suffered to hang perpendicularly down, while the upper part of the canvass constituted the roof. Towards one extremity of the tent was placed a throne, with windows in the sides of the tent, to throw light particularly upon that part of it. Opposite to the throne was a wide opening, from whence a yellow fly-tent projected to a considerable distance. The furniture of the tent was elegant, without glitter or affected embellishments. Several small, round tents were pitched in front, and one, of an oblong form, immediately behind. The latter was intended for the emperor, in case he should choose to retire to it from his throne. It had a sofa or bed at

one extremity. The remainder was adorned with a variety of muskets and sabres, European and Asiatic. Of the small tents in front, one was for the use of the embassy, while it was in waiting for the arrival of the emperor. Some of the others were destined, in the same manner, for the several tributary princes of Tartary, and delegates from other tributary states, who were assembled in Zhe-hol on the occasion of the emperor's birth-day, and who attended, on this day, to grace the reception of the English ambassador. Some tents, also, were intended for the male branches of the emperor's family, and the principal officers of state. In the great tent, his imperial majesty was to receive, seated on his throne, as a particular distinction, the delegate from the king of Great Britain.

"It was not merely for the convenience of a great space, to contain the concourse of persons meeting on this occasion, that a tent was preferred to a large apartment in the palace. The Tartar dynasty, in conforming, in most instances, to the customs of a much more numerous and more civilized, though vanquished nation, retained still a predilection for its own ancient manners, in which, occasionally, and upon Tartar ground, it took a pleasure in indulging. The movable dwelling of a tent was, more than a permanent

palace of stone and timber, the favorite residence of a Tartar sovereign.

"The tributary princes, those of the imperial family, and the great mandarins of the court, formed together no inconsiderable group, while they were in waiting, in front of the great tent. Each was decorated with distinctive marks of the rank bestowed upon him by the emperor.

"Several of the courtiers were partly dressed in English cloth, instead of silk or furs, in which only it had hitherto been allowed to appear before his imperial majesty.

"Those personages had each, in his own district, a circle of courtiers dependent on him, and was abundantly impressed with ideas of his own importance; but all were, in this place, confounded in the crowd, and their grandeur lost in the contemplation of that of his imperial majesty. It was the etiquette of respect towards him to be in waiting for him a considerable time. Some remained part of the night in the garden for this purpose. The emperor was, indeed, expected not long after the dawn of day. This hour of meeting, so different from that of nations which had passed through the various stages of civilization, to the period of indolence and luxury, brought back to recollection the usual hunting occupations of this people, whose daily chase began as

soon as the rising sun enabled them to perceive and pursue their prey.

"Before the emperor's arrival, the ambassador's small tent was filled with a succession of persons, whom curiosity excited, or civility induced, to visit him. Among them were a brother of the emperor, a plain, unaffected man, somewhat above the middle size, and past the middle age; two of the emperor's sons, and as many grandsons; the former well-looking men, courteous and inquisitive; the latter, young, tall, and remarkably handsome. Among the tributaries was one who lived in the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea, and spoke the Arabic language. Knowing, probably, somewhat more of Europe than the rest, he seemed to take a greater interest in what related to the embassy; but the ambassador's avowed and particular friend was the respectable viceroy of Peche-lee, who testified such pleasure in renewing his acquaintance with him, and spoke of him in terms of so much esteem to the surrounding circle, that the persons who composed it became strongly prepossessed in his excellency's favor. The whole embassy seemed to feel more confidence in this viceroy's presence.

"Soon after daylight, the sound of several instruments, and the confused voices of men at a distance, announced the emperor's approach. He

soon appeared from behind a high and perpendicular mountain, skirted with trees, as if from a sacred grove, preceded by a number of persons, busied in proclaiming aloud his virtues and his power. He was seated in a sort of open chair, or triumphal car, borne by sixteen men, and was accompanied and followed by guards, officers of the household, high flag and umbrella bearers, and music. He was clad in plain, dark silk, with a velvet bonnet, in form not much different from the bonnet of Scotch Highlanders: on the front of it was placed a large pearl, which was the only jewel or ornament he appeared to have about him.

"On his entrance into the tent, he mounted immediately the throne, by the front steps, consecrated to his use alone. Ho-choong-taung, and two of the principal persons of his household, were close to him, and always spoke to him upon their knees. The princes of his family, the tributaries and great officers of state, being already arranged in their respective places in the tent, the president of the tribunal of rites conducted the ambassador, who was attended by his page and Chinese interpreter, and accompanied by the minister plenipotentiary, near to the foot of the throne, on the left hand side, which, according to the usages of China,—so often the reverse of those

of Europe,—is accounted the place of honor. The other gentlemen of the embassy, together with a great number of mandarins and officers of inferior dignity, stood at the great opening of the tent, from whence most of the ceremonies that passed within it could be observed.

"His excellency was habited in a richly embroidered suit of velvet, adorned with a diamond badge and star of the order of the Bath. Over the suit he wore a long mantle of the same order, sufficiently ample to cover the limbs of the wearer. An attention to Chinese ideas and manners rendered the choice in dress of some importance, and accounts for this mention of it. The particular regard, in every instance, paid by that nation to exterior appearances, affects even the system of their apparel, which is calculated to inspire gravity and reserve. For this purpose, they use forms the most distant from those which discover the naked figure.

"The broad mantle, which, as a knight of the order of the Bath, the ambassador was entitled to wear, was somewhat upon the plan of the dress most pleasing to the Chinese. Upon the same principles, the minister plenipotentiary, being an honorary doctor of laws of the university of Oxford, wore the scarlet gown of that degree, which happened also to be suitable in a govern-

ment where degrees in learning lead to every kind of political situation. The ambassador, instructed by the president of the tribunal of rites, held the large and magnificent square box of gold, adorned with jewels, in which was enclosed his majesty's letter to the emperor, between both hands lifted above his head, and, in that manner, ascending the few steps that led to the throne, and bending on one knee, presented the box, with a short address to his imperial majesty, who, graciously receiving the same with his own hands, placed it by his side, and expressed the satisfaction he felt at the testimony which his Britannic majesty gave to him of his esteem and good-will, in sending him an embassy, with a letter and rare presents; that he, on his part, entertained sentiments of the same kind towards the sovereign of Great Britain, and hoped that harmony should always be maintained among their respective subjects.

"This mode of reception of the representative of the king of Great Britain was considered, by the Chinese court, as particularly honorable and distinguished; ambassadors being seldom received by the emperor on his throne, or their credentials delivered by them into his own hands, but generally into that of some of his courtiers.

"During the ceremonies, his imperial majesty

appeared perfectly unreserved, cheerful, and unaffected. Far from being of a dark and gloomy aspect, as he has been sometimes represented, his eyes were full and clear, and his countenance open. Such, at least, it appeared during the whole time of his interview with the ambassador, which was lengthened by the necessity of interpreting whatever was said by either party; which rendered the communication extremely tedious.

"His imperial majesty, adverting to the inconvenience arising from such a circumstance, inquired from Ho-choong-taung whether any person of the embassy understood the Chinese language; and, being informed that the ambassador's page—a boy then in his thirteenth year—had alone made some proficiency in it, the emperor had the curiosity to have the youth brought up to the throne, and desired him to speak Chinese. Either what he said, or his modest countenance, or manner, was so pleasing to his imperial majesty, that he took from his girdle a purse, hanging from it, for holding areca nuts, and presented it to him.

"Purses are the ribands of the Chinese monarch, which he distributes as rewards of merit among his subjects; but his own purse was deemed a mark of personal favor, according to the ideas of Eastern nations, among whom any thing worn by the person of the sovereign is prized beyond

all other gifts. It procured for the young favorite the notice and caresses of many of the mandarins, while others, perhaps, envied his good fortune. This imperial purse is not at all magnificent, being of yellow silk, with blue embroidery, and some Tartar characters worked into it.

"The English ambassador, and the three persons who accompanied him, were then conducted to cushions, on which they sat, to the left of his imperial majesty. The princes of the imperial family, the chief Tartar tributaries, and highest mandarins of the court, were seated, according to their rank, nearer to or farther from the throne His excellency was placed about midway between it and the opposite extremity of the tent. A table was laid for every two guests. As soon as all were seated, the tables were uncovered, and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The tables were small; but on each was a pyramid of dishes or bowls, piled upon each other, containing viands and fruits in vast variety. A table was placed likewise for his imperial majesty before the throne; and he seemed to partake heartily of the fare that was set before him. Tea was also served. The dishes and cups were carried to him with hands uplifted over the head, in the same manner as the gold box had been borne by the ambassador.

"An attentive consideration of those ceremonies which have thus the appearance of being meant only to mark the prodigious distance between the sovereign and his subjects in a monarchy altogether absolute, has sometimes led to a conjecture, that they were not originally devised, nor have since continued to be exacted, for the sole purpose of gratification. It is obvious, that, during the performance of them, they effect a physical, as well as imply a moral, inequality between the party requiring and him who pays such homage. The former—the superior in respect to all open force—may yet be conscious of being liable to private treachery; and the suspicious mind, which frequently accompanies unbounded power, may have suggested such precautions against the latent and desperate designs of individuals admitted to approach the person who possesses it. The prostrations, the kneeling, both hands engaged and uplifted above the head, certainly render attacks less practicable from people in those postures.

"A circumstance not less remarkable than those ceremonies was the solemnity and silence, approaching to religious awe, with which the whole business was conducted. No conversation was held among the guests; no bustle was perceptible among the attendants. The commanding feature of the scene was the calm dignity and

sober pomp of Asiatic grandeur, which European refinements have not yet attained.

"Throughout the day, the emperor's attention to his European guests did not abate. During the repast, he sent them several dishes from his own table; and, when it was over, he sent for them, and presented, with his own hands, to them, a goblet of warm Chinese wine, not unlike Madeira of an inferior quality. He asked the ambassador the age of his own sovereign; of which being informed, he immediately replied that he heartily wished him to equal himself in years,—which, with him, had already amounted to eighty-three,—and with as perfect health. He had governed the empire fifty-seven years; and yet he scarcely appeared to be as old as fifty-seven.

"When the festival was entirely over, and he descended from his throne, he marched firm and erect, and without the least symptom of infirmity, to the open chair that was waiting for him."

The emperor's birth-day was celebrated a few days after this; and the time which intervened was spent in various festivities. Excursions over the extensive and richly-cultivated pleasure-grounds, imposing processions, fire-works, theatrical exhibitions, and sports and amusements of every kind, filled each succeeding day. But amid all this gay festivity, the great business of

the embassy went forward but slowly. The great personage to whom they were sent, could be but seldom seen. His age and alleged infirmities, the cares of state, the pressure of business, occasioned by the multitude of embassies from various nations, which were present at this time, were the reasons assigned, on his part, for committing his distinguished guests to the care chiefly of his high officers of state. These officers treated them with the greatest attention, and with the most perfect propriety. Excursions were planned for them, expensive exhibitions and amusements prepared, and presents were continually sent to them. Their intercourse was, however, confined, almost exclusively, to these scenes of pomp and parade, in which all confidential communication was embarrassed by publicity, and all freedom was restrained by the laws of a most rigid etiquette. Some occasions, however, occurred, on which the ambassador endeavored to open a communication with influential officers which might be favorable to his objects; but he always failed. The door was, invariably, with the utmost politeness, but, at the same time, with evident decision, closed against him.

It may be interesting to the reader, before we return with the embassy to Pekin, to give an account of a ride which the whole party took one

day through the emperor's gardens,—which term was applied to his grounds, though, as they were several miles in extent, and contained every variety of hill and dale, and lake and stream, and wild forest, and cultivated glade, the term *garden* conveys to the American reader but an imperfect idea. We will give the narrative in the words of one of the party.

"The emperor, having been informed that, in the course of our travels in China, we had shown a strong desire of seeing every thing curious and interesting, was pleased to give directions to the first minister, to show us his park or garden at Gehol. It is called, in Chinese, *Van-shoo-yuen*, or 'Paradise of ten thousand trees.' In order to have this gratification (which is considered as an instance of uncommon favor), we rose, this morning, at three o'clock, and went to the palace, where we waited, in company with all the great officers of state, for three hours (such is the etiquette of the place), till the emperor's appearance. At last he came forth, borne in the usual manner, by sixteen persons, on a high, open palanquin, attended by guards, music, standards, and umbrellas, without number; and observing us, as we stood in the front line, he graciously beckoned us to approach. Having ordered his people to stop, he entered into conversation with us; and,

with great affability of manner, told us that he was on his way to the pagoda, where he usually paid his morning devotions; that, as we professed a different religion from his, he would not ask us to accompany him, but that he had ordered his first minister and chief 'bolaos' to conduct us through his garden, and to show us whatever we were desirous of seeing there.

"Having expressed my sense of this mark of his condescension in the proper manner, and my increasing admiration of every thing I had yet observed at Gehol, I retired, and, whilst he proceeded to his adorations at the pagoda, I accompanied the ministers, and other great officers of the court, to a pavilion prepared for us, from whence, after a short collation, we set out on horseback to view this wonderful garden. We rode about three miles, through a very beautiful park, kept in the highest order, and much resembling some of the fine scenery in England; the grounds gently undulated, and chequered with various groups of well-contrasted trees in the distance. As we moved onward, an extensive lake appeared before us, the extremities of which seemed to lose themselves in distance and obscurity. Here was a large and magnificent yacht ready to receive us, and a number of smaller ones for the attendants, elegantly fitted up, and adorned

with numberless vanes, pendants and streamers. The shores of the lake have all the varieties of shape which the fancy of a painter can delineate, and are so indented with bays, or broken with projections, that almost every stroke of the oar brought a new and unexpected object to our view.* Nor are islands wanting; but they are situated only where they should be, each in its proper place, and having its proper character; one marked by a pagoda, or other building; one quite destitute of ornament; some smooth and level; some steep and uneven; and others frowning with wood, or smiling with culture. Where any things particularly interesting were to be seen, we disembarked, from time to time, to visit them; and I dare say that, in the course of our voyage, we stopped at forty or fifty palaces or pavilions. These are all furnished in the richest manner, with pictures of the emperor's huntings and progresses, with stupendous vases of jasper and agate, with the finest porcelain and Japan, and with every kind of European toys and *sing-songs;* with spheres, orreries, clocks, and musical automata of such exquisite workmanship, and in such profusion, that *our* presents must shrink from the comparison, and 'hide their diminished

* See Frontispiece.

heads;' and yet I am told, that the same things we have seen are far exceeded by others of the same kind in the apartments of the ladies, and in the European repository at *Yuen-min-yuen*. In every one of the pavilions was a throne, richly ornamented, and an *Eu-jou*, or symbol of peace and prosperity, placed at one side of it, resembling that which the emperor delivered me yesterday, for the king.

"It would be an endless task, were I to attempt a detail of all the wonders of this charming place. There is no beauty of distribution, no feature of amenity, no reach of fancy, which embellishes our pleasure-grounds in England, that is not to be found here. Had China been accessible to Mr. Browne or Mr. Hamilton, I should have sworn they had drawn their happiest ideas from the rich sources which I have tasted this day; for, in the course of a few hours, I have enjoyed such vicissitudes of rural delight as I did not conceive could be felt out of England, being at different moments enchanted by scenes perfectly similar to those I had known there, uniting the magnificence of Stowe with the softer beauties of Wooburn, and the fairy land of Paine's Hill.

"One thing I was particularly struck with; I mean the happy choice of situations for ornamental buildings. From attention to this circum-

stance, they have not the air of being crowded and disproportioned; they never intrude upon the eye, but, wherever they appear, always show themselves to advantage, and aid to improve and enliven the prospect.

"In many places, the lake is overspread with the nenuphar or lotus (nelumbium), resembling our broad-leaved water-lily. This is an accompaniment which, though the Chinese are passionately fond of cultivating it in all their pieces of water, I confess I do not much admire. Artificial rocks and ponds, with gold and silver fish, are, perhaps, too often introduced; and the monstrous porcelain figures of lions and tigers, usually placed before the pavilions, are displeasing to an European eye. But these are trifles of no great moment; and I am astonished that now, after six hours' critical survey of these gardens, I can scarcely recollect any thing besides to find fault with.

"At our taking leave of the minister, he told us that we had only seen the eastern side of the gardens, but that the western side, which was the largest part, still remained for him to show us, and that he should have that pleasure another day.

"Accordingly, on the day of the emperor's anniversary festival, after the ceremony was ended, the first or great colao, and the great men who

attended us two days since, in our visit to the eastern garden, now proposed to accompany us to the western, which forms a strong contrast with the other, and exhibits all the sublimer beauties of nature in as high a degree as the part we saw before possesses the attractions of softness and amenity. It is one of the finest forest scenes in the world—wild, woody, mountainous and rocky, abounding with stags and deer of different species, and most of the other beasts of the chase, not dangerous to man.

"In many places, immense woods, chiefly oaks, pines and chestnuts, grow upon almost perpendicular steeps, and force their sturdy roots through every resistance of surface and of soil, where vegetation would seem almost impossible. These woods often clamber over the loftiest pinnacles of the stony hills, or, gathering on the skirts of them, descend with a rapid sweep, and bury themselves in the deepest valleys. There, at proper distances, you find palaces, banqueting-houses, and monasteries, adapted to the situation and peculiar circumstances of the place,—sometimes with a rivulet on one hand, gently stealing through the glade; at others with a cataract tumbling from above, raging with foam, and rebounding, with a thousand echoes from below, or silently ingulfed in a gloomy pool or yawning chasm.

"The roads by which we approached these romantic scenes, are often hewn out of the living rock, and conducted round the hills, in a kind of rugged stair-case; and yet no accident occurred in our progress, nor a false step disturbed the regularity of our cavalcade, though the horses are spirited, and all of them unshod. From the great irregularity of the ground, and the various heights to which we ascended, we had opportunities of catching many magnificent points of view, by detached glances; but, after wandering for several hours, and yet never wearied with wandering, we at last reached a covered pavilion, open on all sides, and situated on a summit so elevated, as perfectly to command the whole surrounding country, to a vast extent. The radius of the horizon I should suppose to be, at least, twenty miles from the central spot where we stood; and certainly so rich, so various, so beautiful, so sublime a prospect, my eyes had never beheld. I saw every thing before me as on an illuminated map—palaces, pagodas, towns, villages, farm-houses, plains, and valleys, watered by innumerable streams, hills waving with woods, and meadows covered with cattle of the most beautiful marks and colors. All seemed to be nearly at my feet, and that a step would convey me within reach of them."

Such is the travellers' account. In the midst of these scenes, some days were spent; but at last, the festivities were closed; the various embassies began to make preparations to return to their respective homes, and the English party, together with other deputations, whose route lay in the same direction, commenced their return to Pekin. During the day, they travelled rapidly, and at night they stopped at the various imperial palaces, which were scattered along the road. They saw, every where, the indications of the exalted rank which the emperor, and all which pertained to him, held in the estimation of the people, and the artful plans contrived to keep up this feeling.* The emperor himself did not accompany the ambassador on his return, but followed him after a short interval.

It will be recollected that a part of the ambassador's train had been left at Yuen-min-yuen,

* The road was double, one broad track being for the emperor; and another, running parallel with it, was for the people. One of the ambassador's attendants died at one of the palaces where they stopped for the night. Chinese etiquette, however, does not allow of the idea of death taking place in a palace of the emperor's. The body was put into a palanquin the next day, as if still living, and carried as a sick man. After going on some miles, it was announced that he was dead!

and at Pekin, to superintend the unpacking and arranging of the presents, where the emperor was to see them; and it had been the plan of the English government to make, by their presents, and by the imposing character of the embassy, a favorable impression upon the Chinese, and to protract their stay, in hopes of gradually gaining upon the acquaintance and good will of the government, so as to obtain, by degrees, what they could not expect to accomplish very suddenly. This was now his excellency's only hope, since all his plans for direct negotiation had wholly failed. As he was returning to Pekin, however, it was very plain that the great mandarins who accompanied him, distinctly understood that the time of his stay in the country was drawing towards a close,—in short, that all which remained was to wait a few days for the arrival of the emperor, that he might formally receive the presents and deliver them his answer to the English king, and then to set out on their return. The ambassador did all he could to establish a different understanding; and there was a little discussion sometimes on the subject. The vizier, however, with a dexterity characteristic of his nation, contrived to insist positively upon their immediate return, without the least breach of politeness. He considered their wish to remain

as a personal inconvenience to them, which they were willing to submit to out of respect to the emperor, or from some similar motive; and he assured them that the inconveniences which he foresaw they would meet with, on account of the approaching winter, and the lowness of the streams, and the other obstructions to travelling peculiar to that season, were so great that he must positively insist upon their not protracting their stay.

There was another circumstance which operated not a little in compelling the ambassador to shorten his stay. The whole expense of the embassy, which, on account of the number of persons connected with it, and the splendid reception given to it by the Chinese, was very considerable, was borne wholly by the emperor. He always considered all foreign ambassadors as his guests, and would not allow them to incur the slightest expense of any kind while in the country. It was suspected that one motive for this was to enable the government to cut off all communication between their foreign visitors and the Chinese people. The English would have been very glad to have had some intercourse of this kind; but, though the English themselves were ostensibly left at liberty in this respect, the *Chinese* were forbidden to have any communication with them.

If the English attempted to buy any thing *privately* of the natives, the police would discover the transaction, punish the seller, return the money to the ambassador, saying they could not permit any of their people to take money of their guests, and that, if they would at any time make known to the proper authorities what they might want, they should immediately be supplied. A scheme more admirably adapted to cut off all possible intercourse, and to shorten the stay of their guests, while at the same time it was perfectly consistent with all the forms of politeness, could scarcely be conceived.

On account of these and other considerations, Lord Macartney and his suite entered Pekin on their return, with the expectation of bringing their visit to a speedy close. As they preceded the emperor on the return to Pekin, it would be necessary for them to wait until his arrival; and it was only a short time after their own return, that the approach of the emperor was announced, "with an intimation to his excellency, that it would be expected, as the usual etiquette, that he should go some miles upon the road to meet his imperial majesty. The ambassador was at this time considerably indisposed with the rheumatism, which, indeed, had frequently tormented him since his arrival in China. The mandarins, who per-

ceived how much his excellency suffered at the time, and how little qualified he was to make any unusual exertion, proposed to him, in order to divide the fatigue of the journey, to set out the evening previous to the emperor's expected arrival, and to sleep that night in his old villa near Yuen-min-yuen, from whence he would have but a little way to go next morning. This plan rendered it practicable for the ambassador to pay the intended compliment. He accordingly, with his whole suite, of English and Chinese, slept at the villa the following night. The next morning, all were in motion before the rising of the sun. The two roads were both illuminated with variegated lanterns, each suspended by the junction of three poles fixed triangularly into the ground. The party arrived, within two hours, at the place of general rendezvous. They were conducted into a spacious saloon, where refreshments were provided; after partaking of which they proceeded to the spot where the emperor was to pass. Their station was upon a green bank to the left of the road. On each side of them were a multitude of mandarins, guards, and standard-bearers: many of the latter had their standards furled and laid across the emperor's road, while waiting for his approach, as if to prevent any others from attempting to pass upon it. The way

was lined with troops for several miles, as far as the eye could reach. Close to the road, a tent was prepared for the ambassador, on account of his indisposition, that he might feel no inconvenience while waiting for his imperial majesty. Various squadrons of horse, with bowmen with their bows and quivers, preceded the emperor's approach. Soon afterwards a palanquin, or sedan chair, appeared, covered with a bright yellow cloth, and adorned with windows of plate glass. It was carried by eight bearers, while eight others walked close to them, in readiness to relieve the former. The chair was attended by a troop of horse in yellow uniforms, also by pikemen, standard and shield bearers. In it was the emperor. As soon as he perceived the ambassador, he stopped to deliver a gracious message of civility to his excellency; adding, that he desired him to retire without delay from the cold and damp of the morning, so unfavorable to the complaint with which he heard of his being affected.

"Behind the chair followed a two-wheeled, clumsy carriage, without springs, not differing in construction from the common vehicles of the country, but covered with yellow cloth, and empty, as if intended to be used occasionally by the emperor. This carriage was immediately followed

by a chair containing the great colao, or prime minister, vizier Ho-choong-taung. While his imperial majesty was engaged in sending his message across to the ambassador, several mandarins threw themselves upon their knees to pay their obeisance to the prime minister. It was remarked that no other minister, nor any one of the emperor's family, was in his immediate train, or even within sight. The distinction was no doubt the greater for him who was; or, perhaps, some circumstance of convenience then required, or accident occasioned, this separation of his imperial majesty from his other courtiers. The ambassador returned without delay to Pekin; while the emperor pursued his route to Yuen-min-yuen."

Nothing now remained but for the emperor to receive his presents, and deliver to the ambassador his answer to the letter of the English king. He seemed much interested in the articles brought out for him, when he came to view them, though, from the account of the immense number of wonderful and costly works of art with which his palaces were filled, both at Gehol and Pekin, they could not have been any great addition to his treasures. He, however, appeared to take a considerable interest in examining them, and

asked some questions in respect to some which were new to him; but the tedious and difficult mode of communication through interpreters prevented much conversation.

Early one morning, soon after this, the officer who had charge of the embassy, waited on his excellency to acquaint him that the colao wished to see him at the great hall of audience in the palace of Pekin as soon as he could get ready. This summons was of course obeyed: the ambassador set out in a short time, properly attended, and passed in a ceremonious procession through the streets of Pekin, until he came to the great gate leading to the palace, which attracted so much of our travellers' interest on their first entrance into the city. "The palace," says one of the narrators, "is encompassed by a high wall, within which the ambassador was conducted through spacious courts, along canals filled with water, and over bridges of granite, with balustrades of marble, to the foot of the hall, where he found the emperor's answer to the king of England, contained in a large roll covered with yellow silk, and placed in a chair of state, hung with curtains of the same color. It was afterwards carried in form up the middle of three flights of stairs, while the colao and others, who had hitherto stood by it, and the ambassador and

his suite, went up the side steps to the hall. This edifice was a splendid structure, surrounded by many others, itself of great size and magnificence, built of wood on a foundation of granite, and decorated, withinside and without, with gilding, and in the happiest disposition of the most pleasing and vivid colors. The answer was placed in the midst of the hall, from which it was afterwards to be sent to his excellency's hotel. It arrived the same evening. It was brought in state, and at the same time were sent several chests of presents from the emperor to his majesty, containing specimens, no doubt, of the best kind, of the different articles of the produce and manufactures of the empire. Other presents came also for the ambassador and all the persons of his suite; and the attention of his imperial majesty, in giving some small token of his beneficence to the meanest servant who was present, was extended, likewise, to persons then absent, in the instance of all the common men as well as officers of the ships which had brought the embassy to China." The arrival of these presents was, according to Chinese etiquette, the emperor's farewell.

The time for their departure had evidently now arrived; and the whole party embarked on board the barges provided for them, and sailed

down the river to Tong-choo-foo. Their ships had sailed round to Canton; and they passed by land, or by internal navigation, through the whole extent of the country, until they reached that city. Their route led them through scenery of the most varied and delightful character; and they were every where struck with admiration at the magnitude of the public works, the richness of the soil, the high cultivation, and the number and populousness of the cities and towns. On their arrival at Canton, they set sail, and, at length, safely landed in England,* and delivered the answer to the king. The substance of it was found to be, that the proposals of the ambassador went to change the whole system of European commerce, so long established at Canton, which could not be allowed; and that the emperor's consent could by no means be given that the English should resort to any other ports, nor could he allow of an English resident at Pekin; neither could he consent to any other place of residence for Europeans, near Canton, but Macao. In

* The whole expense of the embassy to the Chinese government, was, as estimated by Barrow, from data furnished by the Chinese officers, not far from *eight hundred thousand dollars!* They insisted, as has been already remarked, on paying all the expenses incurred within the Chinese territories.

conclusion, he says, "As the requests made by your ambassador militate against the laws and usages of this our empire, and are, at the same time, wholly useless to the end proposed, I cannot acquiesce in them. I again admonish you, O king, to act conformably to my intentions, that we may preserve peace and amity on each side, and thereby contribute to our reciprocal happiness. After this, my solemn warning, should your majesty, in pursuance of your ambassador's demands, fit out ships in order to attempt to trade either at Ning Po, Tchoo San, Tien Sing, or other places, as our laws are exceedingly severe, in such case, I shall be under the necessity of directing my mandarins to force your ships to quit these ports: thus the increased trouble and exertions of your merchants would at once be frustrated. You will not, then, however, be able to complain that I had not clearly forewarned you. Let us therefore live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words. For this reason I have so repeatedly and earnestly written to you on this subject."

Thus terminated the embassy. It has been justly observed, that the ambassador "was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality, watched with the utmost vigilance, answered with the utmost firmness, and dismissed with the utmost civility."

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION OF THE BIBLE.

As we intend this work to be complete in itself, we shall not attempt to bring down to the present moment a history of the efforts which English and American Christians have made to introduce the true religion to the Chinese empire. It has been a prominent object, in the preparation of this work, to communicate such information, in respect to the character and history of this singular people, as should tend to interest its various readers in the efforts now in progress for sending the gospel to them, though the fact that these efforts have only been *commenced*, prevents our attempting an account of them generally. There is one part of the work, however, which is distinct in itself, and which has been brought already to a successful termination: we mean, the translation of the Bible into the Chinese language, and its introduction to the empire: an account of this transaction is therefore ready to be placed upon record. To this subject we call

the reader's attention in the few pages of this volume which now remain.

It is now nearly thirty years since a society in London conceived the design of sending out Christian scholars to Canton, to learn the Chinese language there, and to make a translation of the Scriptures into it. They selected Mr. Morrison, then a young theological student. His most intimate friend and associate says that his talents were rather of a solid than of a showy kind, rather adapted to accomplish important objects by a course of persevering labor, than to astonish by any sudden bursts of genius. The directors of the society wished to have sent out with him some associates at first; but they could not make arrangements to do this, and the young Christian adventurer was compelled to go alone.

We cannot but pause a moment here, to reflect on the great differences between this embassy and the one which we described in the last Chapter—that, grand and imposing in its beginnings, and in all the external circumstances attending it, but comparatively insignificant in its objects, and useless in its results; this, on the other hand, commenced noiselessly and unostentatiously by a few private individuals, without notice or regard, but sublime in its aims, and grand in its results.

The government of one of the wealthiest nations upon the earth drew largely upon its resources to fit out the *ambassador*, with presents and attendants, and all the insignia of wealth and power;—the *missionary* simply stored his mind with the knowledge he might want to use, and esteemed, as the greatest treasure he could carry, a Latin-Chinese dictionary, which he borrowed. A fleet bore away Macartney and his suite, in the presence of thousands; Morrison took his single passage in a merchant's ship. But the political embassy, after being a nine days' wonder to the two distant nations, ended in nothing, and lives now only in story; while the religious enterprise has gone on widening and deepening in its influence, its interest, and its results, to the present day, and must go on so for ages and ages to come.

Morrison obtained, before he sailed, two Chinese works, a dictionary and some partial translations of the Scriptures, which had been prepared by Catholic missionaries, who had attempted, some years before, to establish Christianity at Pekin. He also endeavored, as intimated in the last paragraph, to acquire such a knowledge of natural science as might be of use to him among the people, and then, about the middle of the winter of 1807, he set sail. Two other missionaries,

bound to India, sailed with him in the same ship, which was to go by way of America. The ship touched at Philadelphia, and Mr. Morrison spent about twenty days in the United States. Many persons here became much interested in his plans; and President Madison, then secretary of state, gave him a letter of introduction to the American consul at Canton, requesting him to do what might be in his power to promote the success of his designs.

Our adventurer at length sailed from Philadelphia, and in the following autumn safely arrived off Macao, and made his first landing upon pagan shores, with the mate of the ship, who went on shore in a boat for a pilot. He was soon known to be a Protestant missionary; and he excited the jealousy of the Portuguese Catholics resident at Macao. He did not, however, remain here long, but went up to Canton, and put himself under the instruction of a native, an ignorant man, but the best teacher he could get, and commenced his toilsome and discouraging task of learning the thirty thousand complicated characters of the Chinese language.

He lived in what is called a *go-down*, a sort of a cellar, which served him, at once, for study, parlor, and bed-room; and here, surrounded with foreigners, with whom he could hold very little

intercourse, or with fellow-countrymen, who had no sympathies in common with him, he spent the first months of his weary toil. He adopted for some time the Chinese customs. He ate with the person who taught him the language, adopting the Chinese fashion at his meals. His mode of living was in every respect plain and economical. "A lamp made of earthen ware supplied him with light, and a folio volume of Henry's Commentary, which he had brought out with him from England, set up on its edge, protected it from the wind. His nails were allowed to grow, that they might become like those of a Chinese. He had a tail, —a tress of hair, a sort of queue of some length, —and he learned to use the chop-sticks, instead of knife and fork, at dinner, with as much dexterity as a native. He walked about the Hong with a Chinese frock on, and with thick Chinese shoes."

After giving this plan a fair trial, Mr. Morrison found he gained nothing by it, and he accordingly gave it up; he pared his nails, cut off his hair, gave away his Chinese dress, and threw by his chop-sticks. He returned to the garb and to the habits of an Englishman. He hired a building more convenient than his wretched apartment in the go-down. Here he went on with his labors until the occurrence of some difficulty, similar to

those described in the last Chapter, drove off all foreigners, for a time, to Macao. He repaired thither with the rest, and continued, with patient perseverance, his labors upon the language, keeping, all the time, his design of translating the Scriptures a profound secret.

The Chinese language has been long celebrated for some characteristics which make it totally different from any other language upon earth; and, in order that the reader may the better understand the nature of Mr. Morrison's difficulties, we shall turn aside a little to describe it. Its most striking peculiarity is, that the character is symbolic, and not alphabetical; that is, each character is the representation of an idea, and not of the sound of the word by which that idea is expressed. The distinction may be easily illustrated. To a well-known substance we give the written name *stone*. These characters, however, represent the sound of the spoken name; the first crooked character standing for the hissing sound with which the spoken name commences; the crossed character, which follows, represents the next sound in the spoken word. In another language, the written name would be *lapis*, the characters of which it is composed being arranged on the same principle of representing the sounds of the spoken name in that language,

—the crooked character here coming last, as it did first before, because the hissing sound comes last in the spoken name. A Chinese writer, however, would, for the same object, write

He would call the object by a name which we should represent by *shih;* but there is no correspondence between the elements of the sound of that word, and the character as above written, by which he would express the thing. There is a hissing sound in his spoken name, but nothing which stands for the hissing sound in his character. The character stands in other words for the stone itself, and not for *shih*, his spoken name for it.

Now, the point of view in which this subject is mainly interesting, is this; that these characters, standing not for words, but directly for ideas and objects, are common to many nations whose spoken languages are very different. The possibility of this it seems strange that any reflecting person should doubt. It is not in principle any more singular, than that the comma, period, marks of quotation, the asterisk, &c., should be understood by the various nations of Europe, while each call them by *spoken words*, which the others do not

understand. And yet it has often been doubted whether it is really the fact that the Chinese character is understood by neighboring nations whose spoken language is different. The slightest reflection will give any intelligent man examples which will remove all doubt of the possibility. The characters $\sqrt{\ }\ 64 = (1+2)^2 - 1$ contain an assertion, which, thus expressed, is intelligible to every mathematician in Europe, each, however, reading it in his own tongue. A French and an English mathematician, unacquainted with one another's language, could reason together with perfect fluency and freedom, by mathematical symbols on a black board. The reason is, that the signs stand not for words, but for ideas. The character $=$ does not denote strictly the sounds *is equal*, nor *est egal*. It denotes the *idea* of equality, which idea both Frenchman and Englishman take from it; and then each expresses the idea, in *sounds*, according to his own language. In the same manner, the character

throughout the whole Chinese empire, stands for the *heart*,—not for any of the various names for the heart which are found in the various dialects, but for the heart itself; and each of the five

nations which that empire comprises, understand the sign, and call it by the name appropriated to it by their own language. Consequently, a living preacher, who learns only the spoken language at Canton, can speak to but a small part of the millions in the empire; but *one tract* written in the Chinese character, and one translation of the Bible, will answer for all; and this was one great reason why Morrison turned his attention, at first, much more to the written than to the spoken language.

Notwithstanding the obvious difference between the Chinese character and an alphabetic language, as above explained, it has often been maintained that the characters are really, like those of any other language, signs of words, not things. Now, it is undoubtedly true, that each character has a word corresponding to it; that is, each idea has a character to represent it on paper, and a word to represent it in sound; and these being often used together, as in reading, they become strongly associated in the mind, and the one always recalls the other; just as the character = is almost always read *is equal to*, but still it does not, strictly speaking, stand for those words, because there is nothing in it in the least degree corresponding to the hissing and liquid sounds which those words contain. It is some-

times read *equals*, and sometimes *equal*, and *are equal to*, and in other languages by other sounds still. And the *equal* has come, in process of time, to be very strongly associated with it, so as seldom or never to give way to any other very different word; for instance, a mathematician would read the following phrase $2+2=4$ thus, two *plus* two *is equal to* four, and not two *and* two *are* four. It seems to be very much so with the Chinese language. The characters are, strictly speaking, signs of things; but each one has become so associated with a particular word, that that word is almost invariably used to express it vocally, so that different readers would read the same passage in the same manner; and poetry can be written in rhyme, just as a sort of rhyme might be made out of statements of mathematical equations, if the signs were read in the usual manner.

The number of Chinese characters is variously estimated—from thirty to eighty thousand. The imperial dictionary, compiled under the direction, and at the expense of the government, about a century ago, by the joint labors of nearly one hundred learned men, from numerous dictionaries before existing, makes about 43,000, in all. This number, however, contains about twelve or thirteen thousand which are obsolete or unmeaning, leaving but about thirty thousand which are to be

considered as actually constituting the language. But even this number, we might suppose, would lead our Chinese student, when commencing his studies, to shrink back from the labors before him in utter despair.

The difficulty, however, to the student, is much less than would be at first imagined; for, although there are thirty thousand or more complicated characters, each of which is different from the rest, still they *are all composed of the same elements*, differently arranged and combined. These elements are only two hundred and fourteen in number; and the first, second and third duty, urged incessantly, by every motive, upon every school-boy in his imperial majesty's dominions, is to make the countenances of these two hundred and fourteen hieroglyphics most perfectly familiar. This once done, the path is afterwards comparatively easy; for every new character beyond those presents itself to his eye, not as a shapeless drawing of unmeaning intricacy, but only as a new combination or arrangement of what he has separately, or in other combinations, been familiar with before. The effect of this in relieving the otherwise impracticable task with which the memory would have to cope, is far greater than would at first be imagined.

There is something analogous to this in the

manner in which elementary *syllables* are used in our language, in forming an immense variety of words by an alteration of the mode in which they are combined. The words *o-men*, *men-tal*, *al-i-ment*, furnish examples of the repeated use of the same elementary syllables to form words of very different significations; and this use of similar or analogous elementary syllables prevails very extensively in the formation of the words of every language, and very much facilitates the acquisition of the many thousand words which every language contains. Thus, if a child hears a story of a Mr. Smith-ton, who lived in John-ville, both names would be easily remembered, while it would be much more difficult for him to remember, if the man's name was Keang Yang, and his residence Hongchoofoo. Hence arises the difficulty of remembering foreign names. Their elementary syllables are not familiar to us. They are constructed of different *kinds* of combinations of letters.

But to return to the Chinese. If each new character was entirely distinct from the rest, it would, perhaps, require the labor of a life to learn them all. But it is not so. The pupil, when he has learned thoroughly his two hundred and fourteen elements, or *keys*, as they are called in the Chinese dictionaries, may feel that, in one sense,

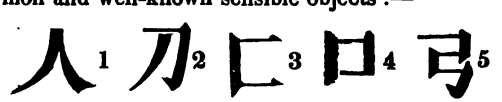
he has got through. He has, strictly speaking, no new characters to learn. The elements will be variously combined, but the several features of each new character will be well known and familiar: it is only the manner of their juxtaposition which he has to notice and remember.

These two hundred and fourteen elements are generally somewhat simple in their forms; and each has a meaning, which, as would naturally be supposed, is generally some common, sensible object or quality. It is often said, in popular works on China, that these elements were intended originally to be a rude representation of the thing signified; but, after a careful examination of them all, we cannot see any foundation for such an idea. The numerals, one, two, three, &c., are represented by one, two and three horizontal marks; but, with this exception, we do not see that there are any more resemblances between the elementary characters and the objects they represent, than chance will account for. Our fount of Chinese type is not quite extensive enough to allow us to give all these elements; but the reader can judge on this subject for himself, by examining, for this purpose, the more simple ones, and those which stand for such sensible objects as would have been most likely to have been imitated in shape.

The first on the list, as arranged in the native dictionaries, is

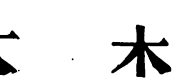
which means *straight*. Here we see a resemblance; and

means *crooked*. The last character is indeed crooked, but it is not such a character as would probably have been made to denote crookedness. Besides, it means *interrupted* also, whereas, as a stroke upon the paper, it is perfectly continuous. With these two cases of similarity, however, and perhaps a very slight appropriateness in the characters for oblique and hooked, the resemblance between the signs and things signified in the whole list seems entirely to end. Take the following, for instance, which are signs for common and well-known sensible objects :—

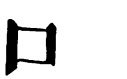


Among these is the character for *mouth*. Who could determine from the shape which it is? Another is the character for *man*, another for *bow*,

and another for *box*.* To the two following characters who could assign any meaning? and when told that one means *great*, and the other *little*, who could determine—to use the common phrase—which was which, from any indications to be seen in the forms of the characters?



After knowing the idea attached to a character, we can, in many instances, fancy some sort of resemblance sufficient to base an association upon, for the aid of the memory; as, for example, in the case of



mouth, which we may fancy to bear some rude resemblance to the organ, but which has quite too many corners ever to have been drawn with reference to such resemblance. The elements, and all the characters formed by the combination of them, are unquestionably arbitrary.

The form of these elementary characters is undoubtedly much influenced by the manner of making them. They use a brush, not a pen,

* 1. Man; 2. Knife; 3. Box; 4 Mouth; 5. Bow.

resembling, probably, in size and form, the small hair pencils, in use, in this country, for painting in water colors. The most simple of the elements are simple strokes with such a brush; others are more complicated, with additional strokes added, not with the design of imitating the object, but of making a figure on the paper distinguishable from those made before,*

It is plain, from the doctrine of permutation and combination, that, by means of these two hundred and fourteen elements, an almost incon-

* In respect to the origin and history of these characters, there is little light to be procured. The Chinese themselves, in "The Annals of China," as quoted by Marshman, in his Chinese Grammar, say that they were invented in very ancient times by Ts 'hang-kih. He resided near a mountain, where "he one day met with a tortoise, and, observing that its shell was beautifully spotted, he took it home, and thence formed the idea of representing things around him. Looking upward, he carefully observed the figures presented by the stars and the heavenly bodies: he then attentively considered the beautifully variegated shell of the tortoise, the wings of birds, the form of mountains, rivers, &c., and at length formed the written characters." "When the invention was finished," adds the narrative, "the heavens poured down food in abundance, and the evil spirits filled the night with howlings." The latter part of the story will teach us how much confidence we can place in the former.

ceivable number of groups may be formed, if, as is the case, the compounds may have four, five, or six elements united in them. By putting them together two and two, we should have more than forty-five thousand; and by grouping them in threes, fours, &c., a number of possible combinations would be obtained altogether beyond the boundaries of ordinary human calculations. Into this almost boundless field, the language does not roam at random. There are about one thousand seven hundred compound characters formed; and then these are used, in connection with about one hundred and fifty of the elements, to form the great mass of the language. There are several of these common compounds which form a part of sixty or seventy words. These common forms soon become familiar to the student's eye, and, being used again and again in different combinations, the difficulty of remembering the characters is very much diminished.

The characters are altered in form when in composition, so as to bring them into as close connection as possible; and they are arranged in a compact manner, so as to occupy a square space. Take, for instance, the character

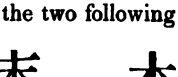
consisting of six elements, each having its own meaning. The upper one is elongated, and the others arranged compactly under it in the manner described. In many instances, the fancy of the student can trace some analogy between the meaning of the whole compound and that which would naturally be indicated by the component parts. Generally, however, this meaning seems arbitrary. In this last case, for instance, the upper character means *a net*, and the four below it, when without the upper one, mean *ability*. The whole means *to stop*. Each of the four lower elements has its signification. The two on the right constitute the character for *spoon;* the two on the left, when together, mean *to shake*, and when separate, one means *flesh*, and the other *low*. All attempts to trace any connection between such primitives and derivatives must fail. In the same manner, the following character,

though composed of elements which have been already given, has a signification totally diverse from them. The character on the left means *wood*. The upper one on the right is *man*, with a mark, which, when alone, means *one*, in the centre of it. The lower one on the right is *mouth*.

All these have before been given. The meaning of the compound is *sword-sheath*. So two *moons*, side by side, mean *friend*, and these under *mountain*, mean *falling*.

In other cases, it is different, however. Two characters for *mouth*, united, mean *noise*. *Tree*, with *mouth, mouth*, over it, means *birds singing*. *Mouth* and *arrow*, together, mean *knowledge*.

Such connections between the meaning of particular compounds, and the elements which form them, are in many cases very obvious. In other cases, it is probably as real, though less apparent, as a character may have received a form determined by its signification, and yet the connection be entirely lost to the superficial observer. Take, for an example, the two following characters:



The difference consists merely in this: the small stroke which is across the lower part in one, is across the upper part in the other: one signifies the interior of a thing, and the other the exterior. The reader would perhaps be puzzled to tell how to appropriate the respective significations. The characters seem perfectly arbitrary, considered with reference to those meanings. It appears, however, on further inquiry, that the character

which is the basis of both of them, means a tree, and drawing the additional stroke across the upper part, as in the first of the characters above, represents the branches, and across the lower part, as in the second, represents the root. We have thus a literal meaning of the characters, which has some analogy or foundation in their form; and from the literal sense of *branches* and *root*, to the metaphorical ones *exterior* and *interior*, the transition is easy.

This example, and a great many similar ones which might have been selected, will show that a character may have originated in a rude attempt at representation, and yet the evidence of it be so concealed among the successive steps and changes which the character has undergone, as to escape even a careful notice. In fact, our well-known character &, as ordinarily written, would hardly suggest to any one the letters *et*, from which it was formed; and if a character, originally meant to represent a word, may lose all apparent resemblance to its origin, why not one which at first was made as a rude resemblance of a thing, either by combination or shape? There can, however, be no question that, generally, in the formation of the compound characters, the meaning of the elements was not the guide.

We might suppose that the mind, in attending

to a compound character, would be perplexed and confused by the meanings of its elements, and especially that, if the meaning of the whole was known, the ideas suggested by the component parts would, at the same time, arise to the mind, producing oftentimes the most incongruous images. But the Chinese reader is in no more danger from this source, than an English reader is of thinking of a doll, when he hears the word *dollar*.

There are several interesting peculiarities in this language, arising from the general principles on which it is founded.

1. The *written* language can be learned, without understanding any thing of the *spoken* language. They are entirely distinct. We have given many of the signs, without, however, except in a single instance, mentioning a Chinese word. We might have gone on and given more, and explained complete sentences, and given the principles of the construction of the language, without introducing another Chinese word. Many of the neighboring nations do thus understand and use the Chinese character.

2. The construction of the dictionaries is peculiar. A French and English dictionary must be twofold; that is, there must be a list of

French words with English meanings, and then a list of English words with French meanings, so as to enable the pupil to go from either language to the other. But, on the principles we have explained, an English and Chinese dictionary must be threefold. First, there must be a list of English words, with the characters, and also the Chinese *spoken* words (spelled in English letters), which correspond to them. Then there must be a catalogue of *characters* arranged according to the elements, with the spoken words (spelled in letters), and the English meanings. Lastly, there must be a catalogue of the *Chinese spoken words*, beginning with *ça*, which is the first, with the character, and the English meaning belonging to each. Dictionaries are thus arranged.

3. The language, being thus addressed to the eye, is said by travellers to convey its meaning more readily and vividly than other written languages, because, where an alphabetic character is used, we have to think first of the sound of the word, and then of the idea; whereas, in an ideographic character, we get the idea more directly. This may be well illustrated by comparing the following two modes of expressing the same idea, the latter of which, to the practised eye, will convey a much more immediate impression than the former:

Two hundred and fifty, minus twenty-five, is equal to two hundred and twenty-five.

$$250 - 25 = 225.$$

How much more readily the character *, on the page, refers us to the margin, than the words *see note* would do! So with the hand, ☞, calling our attention to what follows; and two or three notes of exclamation at the end of an extraordinary statement, speak much more readily, and with a more striking significancy, than any adverbs or adjectives of astonishment incorporated into the sentence.

4. The last peculiarity of the language which we shall mention, respects the printing. The two hundred and fourteen elements being altered in shape when they are combined to form the compound characters, it is not possible to *set up* these compounds from types of the elements. Our letters are not thus altered when incorporated into words, so that the one type for the letter *s* will answer for every word in the language which contains that letter. But the character for *man*, in Chinese, which forms a part of a vast number of other characters, is so altered in shape and position in its various combinations, that one kind of type will not answer the purpose. This renders it necessary, if types are used at all in printing, to have one for every character, simple and com-

pound; that is, 30,000, instead of the twenty-six of an European printing-office. On account of the expense of manufacturing such a fount, and the great labor necessary in using it, the Chinese have always printed from engraved wooden blocks, in a manner which we shall presently describe.

The reader may find a little amusement in looking a moment into the idiom of the language, in respect to the structure of sentences, and the arrangement of words. For this purpose we give a literal translation of a Chinese dialogue. We extract it from a book prepared by Mr. Morrison, at the time of which we have been speaking, when he was engaged in his early studies. The dialogue is supposed to be between a citizen of Canton and a tea merchant arriving there from the interior of the country. The words and characters are placed apart, so that the reader may see how much is represented by each Chinese character. We place a free translation in the opposite column.

A. Venerable father well?	How do you do, sir?
B. You well? I want to see you, wish to do business.	I hope you are well. I wish to see you about business.
A. You what time come to Canton?	When did you come to Canton?
B. I arrived have half more moon.	I arrived about a fortnight ago.

A. Indeed is so? I this day only heard say you had arrived. If I before know, early before visit you gone.

B. I much thank you very.

A. The road pleasant?

B. Not pleasant; road upon difficult travel.

A. I thought sir the road all was sit boat come.

B. Indeed is; but this year because hot very, therefore river road all dried.

A. Though thus, yet I see your honor's countenance has a little color. You what time return Nan king go?

B. New year 's before I not can raise body.

Indeed. I heard but today that you had come. If I had known sooner, I would have gone to see you.

I am much obliged to you.

Had you a pleasant journey?

Not pleasant. It was difficult travelling.

I thought, sir, you came in a boat all the way.

Indeed yes; but this year the water is all dried up in consequence of the drought.

Though it was so, I yet perceive you look very well. When do you return to Nankin?

I cannot go before next year.

The words which, in the specimen given above, in conformity with the English custom, are arranged in lines, are, in Chinese books, written in columns, which are read from the top to the bottom of the page. It is curious to observe how completely all our arrangements in respect to writing are reversed in a Chinese book. The figure denoting the page is with us generally in the corner; with them it is in the middle: with us it is on the top; with them upon the side: with us each *page* is numbered; with them the *leaves:* our lines run

across the page; theirs up and down: we begin at the left hand of the book, and read to the right; they at the right, and go backwards, as we should call it, to the left: their leaves are double, the paper being very thin, and printed only on one side; our leaves are single, made of thick paper, and printed on both sides: their title-page is at what we call the end of the book, and is generally a single column of characters, read, like the other lines, from top to bottom; and the running titles on the successive pages of the work, which Europeans place horizontally upon the top, the Chinese place perpendicularly upon the side.

While pursuing his solitary studies in books which were thus in every respect so new, Mr. Morrison found his situation often trying in the extreme. He was obliged to pass from Canton to Macao, and from one dwelling to another, confined to his dull and wearisome task, and exposed to so much opposition and ridicule, that he was kept almost constantly a close prisoner. Some persons treated him in a kind and friendly manner; but, in general, he was alone, not only in his great enterprise, but in his feelings, his hopes, in all his enjoyments, and all his sufferings. Still he went on, month after month, with patient, persevering effort, looking forward to a brighter day to come.

The day, in fact, began to brighten soon. He

found a wife in the daughter of an English resident at Macao; and, after he had made some progress in the language, he received an appointment in the English factory which materially improved his condition, while the duties of his office were just such as were best calculated to carry him forward in his knowledge of the language. He began, too, to be able to have some religious services on the Sabbath, in connection with the persons whom he employed as his teachers. He was able to collect a few boys as his pupils, endeavoring, while he instructed them in their own written language, and in such studies as were of obvious value to them, to make them acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion.

It was about six years after Morrison commenced his labors at Canton, that Mr. William Milne, his first colleague, arrived at Macao. He was a young man, who had given himself to the service of the missionary society, and had been appointed by them to this station. About two or three days after his arrival, he received a peremptory order from the Portuguese governor, commanding him to leave the place immediately. Remonstrances were vain, as they always are where Roman Catholic jealousy is awakened against Protestant plans, where the priests have the power. Fortunately, however, Mr. M

could go to Canton, and there, joined a short time after by Morrison, he commenced his labors upon the language.

Though they were thus, in this case, impeded in their labors by Roman Catholic influence, it must be admitted, to do justice to the mother church, that they derived great aid from it in another way; for Morrison, in his efforts at translation, was very much aided by some Chinese versions of parts of the Scriptures, which the Catholic missionaries at Pekin had made; so that, notwithstanding the hostility to the circulation of the Scriptures with which the Catholics are so often charged, the honor of translating them to a language used by one third of all the inhabitants of the globe, must be shared with them. It was about the time that Milne arrived, that the second volume of the New Testament was ready for publication, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels having been printed a year or two before.

The mode of printing is as follows :—Thin boards are prepared, of a hard, oily, shining wood. Each is twice the size of a page of the book; and a sufficient number of them is prepared, to allow one for every two leaves which the proposed work is to contain. They are made about half an inch thick, and are planed perfectly smooth on both sides.

The surface is then rubbed with a sort of paste,

made of rice or some similar substance, which smooths and polishes, and at the same time softens a little the surface of the board. Upon one of these boards, thus prepared, the exact size of the two pages is marked (for each side contains two pages), and the space thus enclosed is divided into squares by horizontal and perpendicular lines; and then the wood within the squares is cut out, leaving the lines prominent. Red ink is now applied to these lines, and paper then laid upon the board and pressed down; by which means there is transferred to the paper an impression of the lines. This is repeated until sheets are struck off in sufficient number to contain the whole work to be printed.

The author's manuscript, irregular, hastily written, and defaced with erasures and corrections, is then, by a workman called a *transcriber*, carefully copied upon these sheets, each letter occupying a square. It thus assumes a regular and beautiful appearance.

These sheets are carried to the block-cutter, who, having smeared his boards, or *blocks*, as they are generally called, with the paste already described, lays down one of the sheets of the transcribed work upon each, and *transfers* the characters to the wood, exactly as pictures are transferred to scrap-boxes in this country. He then cuts

away the wood every where except where it is covered by the ink which was transferred, and thus leaves the character in relief. The blocks, having all undergone this process, are ready for use in the printing.

They are inked by a brush, and then the sheets of paper, which is like the thin paper that comes in tea-chests to this country, are applied, and pressed down by a dry brush upon the back of the paper, by which means the impression is easily taken. Each sheet thus contains two pages, though they are both on one side of it; they are folded together so as to bring the blank side of the paper within; and the leaves thus formed are then ready to be stitched together.

It was in this way that the Scriptures were first printed at Canton. While the work was going on, Morrison was employed also in preparing a dictionary and a grammar, and several tracts and translations of English works of small size. After a considerable quantity of these had been prepared, the missionaries conceived the design of sending off Mr. Milne on an excursion into the neighboring seas, to the ports most frequented by the Chinese, for the purpose of distribution. The events and incidents of this tour we have not now time to describe: he was, however, successful in his efforts, finding a much stronger desire on the part of the Chinese, whom he visited, to

receive the books and tracts which he offered, than he had expected to see. While he was gone, Morrison went on with his labors. He completed his dictionary; and the English East India Company, aware that its publication must tend to the increase of commercial intercourse with China, by opening the way to the more easy acquisition of the language, published it at a great expense, being obliged to send out a press and to manufacture types expressly for the purpose. In the mean time, Mr. Morrison, having finished the New Testament, began upon the Old, and, with patient perseverance, worked his way through Genesis, Exodus, and the succeeding books, printing his work as fast as he proceeded with the translation. The expense of the enterprise was borne by English Christians at home, through several organizations into which they had united themselves for the purpose of spreading the gospel. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the London Missionary Society took the lead. Year after year the work went on. Morrison, protected by his office, was enabled to remain at his post; but Milne found it difficult to remain long at Canton or Macao. Missionary stations were, accordingly, established at Penang, at Java, at Sincapore, and especially at Malacca, where their printing-presses were set up, and a Chinese school established, and where an establishment was

gradually formed, which was, in many respects, for a long time, the head-quarters of what they called the Ultra-Ganges mission. These various labors occupied the time of the missionaries, and of others who had been sent out from time to time to join them. In the mean time, however, Morrison continued his work, until, on the 25th of November, 1819, he brought it to a successful termination.

This conclusion of his labors in translating the Scriptures is the point which we had designated as the termination of this work. We might find a deep interest and great pleasure in following the history of English and American missions up to the present time; but we must refer our readers, for this information, to the periodicals of the day, and especially to the publications of the Rev. Charles Gutslaff, who is now most effectually securing the advantages of Morrison's labors, by bringing the Bible and other Christian books in great numbers before the Chinese people. The patient translator now sees the commencement of the great results of the discouraging and weary toil, borne in obscurity and suffering for twenty years.

THE END.

915.1
A132

Présent fromm the Journal Mag

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

DOC APR MAY 03 1995
JUN 22
DOC MAY 0 1 1996
JUN 21
JUN 30 2005

3 6105 010 174 543

915.1
A132

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Stanford, California

PRINTED IN U.S.A.